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MACAULAY'S
WARREN HASTINGS
NOTES &c.

S. HALES.



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WARREN HASTINGS

BY

LORD MACAULAY

*EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
FOR USE IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS*

BY

S. HALES



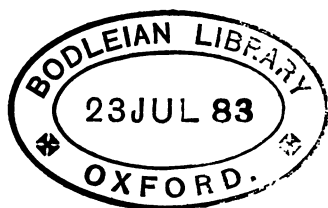
LONDON

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1883

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LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

INTRODUCTION.

I. *THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY.*

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY, the eldest child of Zachary and Selina Macaulay, was born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, October 25, 1800. His father, a stern, undemonstrative, but not harsh or unfeeling man, is famous for the active part he took in the emancipation of the West Indian slaves. Possessed of the highest principle, he yet lacked those tender graces which win the love and confidence of children ; and, as a consequence, the sentiment he evoked in his own household was one rather of respect than of personal affection. Mrs. Macaulay, on the other hand, though firm and judicious, was a tender mother. Without severity she was able to control her children. Tom, like schoolboys in general, did not want to go to school. He pleaded that it was raining. 'No, Tom, if it rains cats and dogs you shall go,' said Mrs. Macaulay. Years after, writing from Cambridge in reference to the illness of his brother John, Macaulay said—'I do not know whether illness to him is not rather a prerogative than an evil. I am sure that it is well worth while being sick to be nursed by a mother. There is nothing which I remember with such pleasure as the time when you nursed me at Aspenden. . . . The sound of your voice, the touch of your hand, are present to me now, and will be, I trust in God, to my last hour.'

Tom (as he was always called) was rather a precocious boy. He began to write verses at a very early age. In conversation he always took a forward place, and was indeed a little too vehement and self-confident. He liked to use long words and grand phrases. His fondness for reading was excessive, while at games he was a very poor hand. He could not row, skate,

play cricket, or swim. His good-nature, however, won for him the regard of his schoolfellows, who, while they pitied his incapacity in the playground, could not but appreciate his superior knowledge. The habit of reading continued through life. Once, on a journey to Ireland, he found himself without a book of any sort, and concluded that the best thing to do was to repeat over to himself the whole of 'Paradise Lost,' which he knew by heart. During his long voyage to India many years after, he was scarcely ever without a book in his hand, except at meal times. His preference was for what is called light reading—novels and story-books. 'Don Quixote' was a particular favourite.

Macaulay's imagination was so vivid that, when he was reading any story of bygone times, he would conceive himself to be actually living among the persons and scenes described. Some of the clearest pictures of the past that have ever been written, are to be found in his 'History of England,' and many of his essays excel in picturesque description of a similar kind. The power he had of transplanting himself in thought to other places and other times is, doubtless, one secret of his art.

Macaulay's university life began in 1818 at Trinity College, Cambridge. Though, as we have seen, a great reader, he was not a very deep student. He preferred to pursue his own course rather than that laid down for him by his teachers. He did not like mathematics, which were the principal subject of study at Cambridge, and preferred to read and re-read the ancient Greek and Roman dramatists and poets. However, he won several honours, and in 1824 obtained a fellowship, which secured him an income of 700*l.* for seven years, and some other small emoluments.

Macaulay had a remarkable memory. He remembered the substance of everything he read—often, in poetry especially, the very words. He once said, and it was no doubt perfectly correct, that if all the copies of 'Paradise Lost' and 'The Pilgrim's Progress' were destroyed, he could reproduce them both. When thirteen years of age, while waiting at a country inn for a post-chaise, he looked over some verses in a newspaper which lay on the table. Forty years afterwards, having never in the meantime given them a thought, he repeated them accurately.

After leaving college Macaulay studied law, and was called to the bar in 1826; but he made no mark as a barrister because

his heart was not in the work. More to his taste was the arrangement he made two years earlier to contribute articles to the 'Edinburgh Review.' His first article, printed in 1825, was on Milton. It attracted much attention, as also did the many contributions from his pen which followed in the same review. Eight years later, when the pressure of other duties had compelled him to almost entirely cease to write for it, the editor called upon him and assured him that his articles were the only things that kept the work up; that of late the sale had much diminished, and that the general report from booksellers up and down the country was, that the sale was large or small according as there were, or were not, articles by him.

In 1828 Macaulay was appointed a Commissioner in Bankruptcy, and he held the office until it was abolished. In 1830 Lord Lyndhurst offered him a seat in Parliament for the borough of Calne, which he took, and quickly obtained a reputation as an accomplished orator. Those were the exciting times of the first Reform Bill, and Macaulay took an active part in securing that important measure of justice for the people. So great did his influence in the House of Commons become, and so great was his service to his party, that, in about two years after he entered Parliament, he was invited to join the Ministry as Secretary of the Board of Control. This was the beginning of his connection with Indian affairs, and his brilliant essays on 'Lord Clive' and 'Warren Hastings' show that he did not neglect his opportunities. The knowledge he acquired of India and Indian politics was immense, and enabled him to be of signal service to that country while he was connected with its administration.

At the first election after the Reform Bill became law, Macaulay successfully contested the newly made borough of Leeds. In 1834 he sailed for India as a member of the Supreme Council there. It fell to his lot to take a leading part in framing the Criminal Code, and the work which he accomplished is still the basis of Indian law.

Returning to London, Macaulay, before very long, found himself active in home politics. He became member of Parliament for Edinburgh, and held his seat until 1847, when he was defeated at the election of that year. He thereupon retired into private life, turned his attention again to literature, and set to work on his famous 'History of England.' In 1852 he was

re-elected, in his absence, for the city which five years before had rejected him. He did not, however, again give up his time exclusively to politics, and in 1856 he retired finally from public life, and was made a peer by Lord Palmerston soon after. Four volumes out of five of his 'History' were published before his death, and were received with great applause. He died on December 28, 1859, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. 'We have lost,' wrote his sister, Lady Trevelyan, 'the light of our home; the most tender, loving, generous, unselfish, devoted of friends. What he was to me for fifty years, how can I tell? What a world of love he poured out upon me and mine!'

In personal appearance Macaulay is described as short and robust, and fair-complexioned; his head was massive, and his countenance rugged; he was careless as to dress, and not distinctly handsome, but he had an expression indicative of combined power and good-nature.

One very remarkable feature in Macaulay's career was his invariable success. No matter what he undertook, it gained for him applause. His first essay in the 'Edinburgh Review' gave him fame as a writer; his first speech in Parliament established his reputation as an orator. The merits of his Indian Criminal Code are recognised to this day. When he published his 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' and again, when his 'History' appeared, new honours awaited him. He suffered defeat at an Edinburgh election, but the constituency quickly repented, and at the next opportunity elected him without solicitation. Even that early wish of his, that he might be considered worthy of burial in Westminster Abbey, did not fail of fulfilment at his death.

To account for this success, we must look first at his striking natural ability. His power of rapid reading, his quick understanding of what he read, and his marvellous memory, served him in both literature and politics. His pages are made fascinating by their wealth of illustration, their apt quotations, and suitable references. He had, too, a very clear understanding of the public wants, so that he was always able to hit the popular taste. Nor must we omit to note that by his sociable disposition his good temper and his readiness in conversation, he won

nds.
 | these natural gifts, and much more important, was
 own character. Men have shone without great

gifts, never, with any permanence, without character. Quickness and memory did much, but his own thoroughness did more to win him his place. He gave his whole heart to his work, did not grudge any pains to make it perfect : he is known to have written parts of his ' History ' and his essays three times over at least. Then, again, he was free from all pretence—a thoroughly sincere man, always better than his promise and exceeding expectation. His election for Leeds was free from every trace of bribery or even undue persuasion. While he held the office of Bankruptcy Commissioner, a bill was introduced into Parliament to abolish it, which he supported, although he was too poor to afford easily the loss of the salary. When in the Ministry, a proposal was made in reference to West Indian slavery which he could not approve, and though poverty still pursued him, he refused to pocket his scruples, and accordingly tendered his resignation. He was never in debt, although at one time he was reduced to sell the gold medals he had won at Cambridge. Sydney Smith truly said, ' I believe Macaulay to be incorruptible. You might lay ribbons, stars, garters, wealth, titles before him in vain. He has an honest, genuine love of his country, and the world would not bribe him to neglect her interests.'

Such integrity, applied also to literature, could not fail to have due weight. It has been said Macaulay's judgments were not always accurate, that he overstated the merits of some persons and understated the merits of others. Perhaps this is in some measure true. For example, Sir Elijah Impey, so severely dealt with in the following essay, has been thought to have been by no means the utterly bad man depicted by Macaulay. Be this as it may, Macaulay always said the best he knew, never did intentional injustice to anyone, and was, in fact, sometimes led into error by the very excess of heedless candour.

It is the crown of Macaulay's honour that his private life will not only bear the closest investigation, but that, highly as we may esteem his public career, the noblest part of him was exhibited only in his home and toward his friends. He was the best of sons and the best of brothers. When a baby he ' would cry for joy ' on seeing his mother after an absence of a few hours. The same intensity of feeling lasted through his life, so that the marriage

of his sister Margaret—although he never let her know it—was a great grief to him, breaking as it did the loving relations which, until then, had subsisted between them. Her early death, while he was abroad, almost broke his heart. The affection was mutual : his sisters loved him as strongly as he loved them, but not so exclusively. They married and formed other ties—he never did. With heroic energy and singleness of purpose he devoted himself to the task of providing for his family, when his father's business misfortunes had brought them into poverty. For that end he spent some of the best years of his life in India. He did not dislike society, but his heart was in his home, and he would freely have given up public life and fame for the sake of those he loved.

Nor did Macaulay's generosity confine itself to those who had family claims upon him. It was not a mere sense of duty but the overflowing of a loving nature which made him so good. He refused payment for articles he wrote in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' because the publisher was his friend. His acts of private benevolence were numerous. On the morning of the day he died, he sent 25*l.* to relieve a clergyman's distress. 'Such was his high and simple nature' writes his nephew and biographer, Mr. George Otto Trevelyan, 'that it may well be doubted whether it ever crossed his mind that to live wholly for others was a sacrifice.'

Macaulay's reputation rests, firstly on his writings, secondly on his political services. Authors are indebted to him for the existing copyright laws which secure to them the property in their books. India must thank him for the simple administration of law which she enjoys to-day. His writings speak for themselves ; the interest they excite in most cases is as great to-day as it was when they first appeared. The essays on 'Lord Clive' and 'Warren Hastings' are among the best and most popular, and they are justly valued, not only for the information they contain, but, also, for the masterly style in which they are written.

In this combination of public usefulness with private virtue consists the greatness of Macaulay's life. He died at the comparatively early age of 59 ; but his life was so full, and, in its own directions so complete, that all sense of failure is removed. *Had he lived he might have done more work, but he could not
ve left a sweeter memory.*

II. SKETCH OF INDIAN HISTORY TO THE TIME OF WARREN HASTINGS.

1. Very many years ago, before Christianity was founded, when forests covered all this land, and wild beasts roamed therein, a race of men called Aryans inhabited the central parts of Asia. These Aryans were much superior in intelligence, not only to the tribes which immediately surrounded them, but also to the people who then inhabited Europe. They lived chiefly by rearing sheep and cattle ; and, as pasture land was plentiful, their habit was, when one tract of country was exhausted, to remove with their flocks and herds to more fertile parts. They had no settled abode, and it occasionally happened that numbers of them travelled quite away from the place of their birth. Thus, in course of time, some reached Persia, and settled there ; others journeyed even to Europe, and their descendants became, long afterwards, the great nations of Greece and Rome. Some penetrated to northern Europe, establishing themselves in the forests of the continent and of our own islands.

2. Another section of the Aryans crossed into India. They found the country already inhabited by wild men, resembling, in some respects, the bushmen of Australia. They drove these into the jungles and took possession of the land.

3. So matters went on for many centuries, during which arts and learning made great advances in Europe, a more settled style of life became general, and nations formed themselves somewhat as they are to-day. But in India the changes were slight ; so slight, that the Hindoos of to-day are, in habits and customs, very much what their ancestors the Aryans were when they first settled themselves in that country. They were by no means ignorant or barbarous, but the difference between them

and the Europeans had become very great. The distance prevented much intercourse, and India was to Europeans a strange, far-away country, concerning which marvellous tales were told. Some amount of trade was carried on overland, through sandy deserts and tracts of country made perilous by the presence of fierce and warlike tribes. But, until about 400 years ago, India and its people were comparatively unknown to Europeans.

4. India had not, however, been left entirely alone. Alexander the Great had reached it during his famous conquests (B.C. 327-325) and the Scythians had established themselves in the northern parts (B.C. 126). In A.D. 712 the Mohammedans appeared, and in time took possession of the whole land. The great Empire of the Moguls, having its head-quarters at Delhi, was established by Baber in 1526. Baber's grandson was the noble and famous Akbar (born 1542). For nearly two centuries a succession of capable rulers controlled the country, but after Aurungzebe died (1707), at the age of 90 years, inferior men came to the throne, and the Mohammedan power thenceforth declined rapidly.

5. About 400 years ago Europeans began to take a deep interest in India. Stories of the vast natural wealth of the country, and of the accumulated wealth of its princes, had got abroad, and adventurous men, attracted by these stories, resolved to try their fortunes there. It was a serious undertaking in those days. On board a comfortable steamer, going through the Suez Canal, the voyage, now, is over in a few weeks; but even the long sea route round the Cape of Good Hope was unknown then. The vessels available for the voyage were, many of them, scarcely larger than those which trade along the English and Irish coasts. In 1492-93 Christopher Columbus resolved that he would try to reach India by sea, and he sailed away to the west for that purpose. As is very well known, he discovered America instead. In 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon round the Cape of Good Hope, and, in eleven months, reached Calicut. He returned, with a friendly letter from the Rajah of Calicut to the King of Portugal, and was received with national rejoicings. The Portuguese made a very ill return for the kindness shown to their representative. *They dispatched war ships to the Indian coast, and strove to*

force on the inhabitants their trade and their religion, at the point of the sword. Vasco da Gama himself was guilty of some atrocious cruelties.

6. A hundred years later the Dutch began to establish themselves in India, and their example was followed, not long after, by the English and the French. John Cabot tried to reach the country by sailing round the north coast of America; the result was that he discovered Newfoundland. Attempts were also made to get there round the north of Europe. In 1596 Cornelius Houtman, a Dutchman, reached Sumatra by way of the Cape, and, soon after, several trading companies were established. In 1602 these were amalgamated into the 'Dutch East India Company.' The Dutch quite outstripped the Portuguese, and for some years had practically the whole Indian trade in their hands. They continued to trade largely, but not exclusively, until the middle of the eighteenth century; but now they are scarcely found in India. The English 'East India Company,' so often mentioned in the following pages, was founded 31st December, 1600. It was not dissolved until the year 1858. Other English companies were formed from time to time; but some failed, and others became incorporated with the great company. At first this was known as the 'Merchants of London trading to the East Indies,' but on amalgamating in 1709 with another large concern—the 'General Society trading to the East Indies,' established with a capital of two millions of pounds in 1698,—it altered its style to the 'United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.' The first French Company was founded in 1604. Danes, Spaniards, and Swedes also opened trade with India; but their operations were not significant enough to concern us at present.

7. The object the English had in view when they first went to India, was to extend their commerce. In the spices, and rice, and silks, British merchants saw their opportunity for realising large profits. That they judged rightly is shown by the fact that the East India Company, which started with 70,000*l.* was able not only to pay immense dividends to its proprietors, but ninety-eight years later lent the English Government three millions of pounds. All this money was earned in a comparatively honest way. The rights of the natives of India were, on the whole, respected. Factories were established by permission

of the local rulers, and rent was paid for them ; and though from time to time a little fighting took place, it was in a great measure, only in self-defence.

8. Unhappily, this state of things was not to continue. ' Much would have more.' It was seen that the private treasuries of the native rulers were full to overflowing ; and European greed, not satisfied with the rich products of the earth, began to cast covetous eyes on these accumulations. It seemed a fine thing, too, to be able to rule ; and if these natives who, at the best, were not first-rate fighting men, could be dispossessed, then the real, if not the apparent, control might be obtained by the servants of the companies. The existing rulers were not, in all cases, good. Under pretence of saving the subjects of these from oppression, or because of some real or fancied interference with what they chose to regard as their own rights, the European companies made war on these native rulers, deposed some, extorted immense sums of money from others, and practically became masters of a considerable portion of the country. Of course their profits increased largely, and not only theirs, but the profits of their servants in India ; who, encouraged to pillage for their employers, saw little wrong in pillaging also for themselves. Their salaries were usually small, yet, thanks to ill-gotten gains, numbers of them after a very few years' service in India returned to England laden with wealth. People did not understand then, and perhaps they hardly understand yet, that men whom they call savages have just as much claim as their own fellow-countrymen, to be treated uprightly, and that theft is theft whether committed at home or abroad, within reach of the law or beyond it. The following pages contain an account of the aggressive policy pursued by the English in the time of Warren Hastings.

9. Another temptation to resort to war was found in the foolish desire of each European nation to exclude all the rest. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English were all jealous of one another. There was plenty of trade for every one of them, yet each wanted to grasp it all, or, if that were impossible, at least to prevent others from having any of it. First the Portuguese, and then the Dutch were driven off, until at length, in the middle of the last century, the two great *rivals* were France and England—the former being then, too,

more firmly established, the more powerful of the two, and on that account the more generally respected, or perhaps feared, by the natives.

10. We have already mentioned the establishment of the great Mogul Empire at Delhi in 1526, and that about the year 1707 its power began to decline. Till then it had successfully ruled both Northern and Southern India, but when, after a succession of very able princes, men of inferior ability succeeded to the throne, the viceroys in different parts of the country achieved, or partly achieved, their independence. This was particularly the case in Southern India, which was farthest from the capital, and which also was invaded by the powerful hordes of Hindoos—known as the Mahrattas—who swept down upon it from their stronghold in the Western Ghauts.

11. Such was India about the time when Warren Hastings first landed on its shores,—the original inhabitants hidden away in the forests, and all the interlopers, Hindoo, Mohammedan and European, struggling one with another for supremacy. The final contest was to be between the French and the English, the two latest comers. Others took sides, fancying, no doubt, that they were fighting for their own ends, but, in reality, serving only as instruments in the hands of their more astute and powerful allies.

12. The war which broke out in Europe between France and England in 1744, raged also in India. There was at that time as Governor of Pondicherry, a French officer named Dupleix, capable and ambitious, who had made up his mind that France should be supreme over the whole country. Already the native populations, siding as they always did with the party they deemed the strongest, were willing to respond to his call. England was his chief obstacle, and against the English he bent all his energies.

13. The European war suited him exactly. He took prompt measures, and his success was immediate. On the arrival of their fleet the French took Madras, which was not restored until peace was made in 1748. An English attack on Pondicherry was repulsed.

14. Peace in Europe did not mean any lasting peace in India. Direct warfare being no longer possible, it was still easy to induce quarrels between native rulers, and to take

opposite sides. The petty sovereignties which had been established by subordinates of the Mogul Empire served this purpose well. The Nizam-ul-Mulk at Hyderabad had been viceroy of the Deccan, and nominally, ruler of the whole of the South. Under him, in the lowlands known as the Carnatic, was his deputy the Nawab of Arcot. Still farther south Trichinopoly and Tanjore were the centres of Hindoo monarchies. When the Nizam-ul-Mulk died, his son Nasir Jung succeeded him; but a grandson, Mozuffer Jung, also laid claim to the throne, and it suited the purpose of Dupleix to support the cause of the latter, and, on his death, of his brother Salabat Jung. This 'war of the succession' is mentioned in the Essay, 726.

15. Meanwhile, at Arcot other disputes arose as to the succession of Nawabs or deputies, and in these also the French interfered. The fact was, Dupleix wanted both the Nizam, or viceroy, and the Nawab or viceroy's deputy, to be nominees of his own—men who could be invested with all the outward signs of power, while he should himself be the real ruler, acting through them. After a series of struggles he succeeded beyond even his own expectations, and in the pride of his heart he built a city which he called Dupleix Fatihabad, which means the *City of the victory of Dupleix*, and in this city he erected an immense column inscribed with an account of his greatness.

16. Now, the Nawab whom Dupleix had placed on the throne at Arcot was Chunder Sahib, and the rival claimant, who had been displaced in 1748, was Mahommed Ali. The English, alarmed at the immense successes of Dupleix, and perceiving, at length, that the end must surely be their own expulsion from India, became active, and as a first step supported the claims of Mahommed Ali. They gave Clive the command of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, and sent him to seize Arcot, which he promptly did, although the opposing garrison was much larger than his own force. It had been rumoured, however, that his five hundred men had marched with perfect fearlessness through a sharp thunderstorm, and this so impressed the natives that they left Arcot without a struggle. Returning later, they were defeated by Clive without loss of any of his men.

17. From this time the power of the French declined.

Chunder Sahib gave himself up to the Rajah of Tanjore, who put him to death. The stately city and column which Dupleix had erected were destroyed.

18. The English were entirely successful against the Nawab of Arcot, but the Nizam Salabat Jung had still to be dealt with ; and if Dupleix had been left alone by his Government it is by no means certain that the victory would have come very easily to the English. But Dupleix was recalled to France, and when he was gone Salabat Jung quarrelled with his French allies and appealed to the English for help.

19. While these successes were being achieved in the South, troubles were accumulating in the Bengal district, where the English had established themselves at Calcutta. Ali Vardi Khan had died in 1756 and been succeeded by his son, Surajah Dowlah, a sensual and cruel man, who at once picked a quarrel with the English. He marched on Calcutta, surprised the inhabitants and took it. Then occurred the awful tragedy of the 'Black Hole.' This 'Black Hole' was the military dungeon of Fort William, in size about 18 feet square. Into it, in the hottest season of the year, 146 English men and women were thrust and left for the night. Only a small grating gave inlet to the air, and the sufferings of these miserable creatures are beyond description. In the morning only 23 came out alive. It is due to Dowlah to say that this proceeding was taken without orders from him, and, in all likelihood, without his knowledge.

20. As soon as news of these events reached Madras, Clive and Watson were dispatched to the scene of the disaster. They recovered Calcutta, and war having again broken out between France and England, Clive seized Chandernagore also. Dowlah, enraged at this, considering it an infringement of his rights, sided with the French. The great battle of Plassy followed (June 23, 1757). Dowlah was utterly routed, and French ascendancy in India was finally destroyed. Meer Jaffier was placed on the throne of Bengal, in consideration of payment by him to the English of large sums of money. Clive's reputation as a warrior was now so high, that his very name became a terror to his enemies. In 1758 he was appointed first English Governor of Bengal.

21. When the battle of Plassy was fought, Warren Hastings

had been in India nearly seven years. These exciting times gave him his opportunity, and the following pages show what use he made of it. We have seen how, from being simply traders, the English had by degrees asserted that they had a right to a voice in the government of the country. It fell to Hastings to continue this policy, which, sometimes by warlike and sometimes by gentler methods, has been carried on up to the present time. The many invaders who were once rivals have succumbed, and the English to-day are masters of the same vast territory which, three centuries ago, was in complete and, as it appeared, final subjection to the Mohammedan rulers at Delhi.

22. That we may form some idea of the vastness of this Indian territory, let us remember that the United Kingdom contains 121,000 square miles, while India contains 1,500,000 square miles. All this, with the exception of 1,086 miles owned by the Dutch, and 178 by the French, consists of British possessions and dependencies. The population of the United Kingdom is $34\frac{1}{2}$ millions, that of India $252\frac{1}{2}$ millions. In that country, besides Europeans, there are four distinctly marked races. 1st, the Aborigines, found there by the Aryans ; 2nd, the Brahmins or Rajputs ; 3rd, the mixed races, known as Hindoos, who have in them some of the blood of each of the former races ; and 4th, the Mohammedans. The Hindoos form more than one-half the population, nearly one-fourth are Mohammedans, and the numbers of the Aborigines and the Brahmins are about equal.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

FOR REFERENCE.

A.D.	Warren Hastings' Age	
1001		Mohammedans invaded India.
1205		Afghans invaded India.
1398		Mogul Tartars invaded India under Tamerlane.
1497		Passage to India, round Cape of Good Hope, discovered by Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese navigator.
1526		Mogul Empire firmly founded in India by Baber.
1556		Akbar began to reign. Died 1605.
1600		First charter granted to East India Company.
1658		Aurungzebe began to reign. Died 1702.
1698		Calcutta purchased by the English.
1732		Warren Hastings born, December 6.
1738		Great Persian invasion of India by Kouli Khan.
1740	8	W. H. sent to school in Newington, London.
1742	10	W. H. removed to Westminster School.
		Dupleix became governor of French India.
1750	18	W. H. arrived in Bengal as a clerk.
1751		Clive gained the victory of Arcot.
1752	20	W. H. sent to Cossimbazar to trade for the Company.
1756		Black Hole massacre, by Surajah Dowlah.
		Seven Years' War began in Europe.
1757	25	W. H. a prisoner at large at Moorshedabad and secret agent to the Company.
		Battle of Plassey gained by Clive.
1760		Sir Eyre Coote defeated French general Lally at Arcot, and at Wandewash.
		George III. became King of England.
1761	29	W. H. made Member of Council at Calcutta.
		Pondicherry taken by Sir Eyre Coote from the French.
1764	32	W. H. returned to England.
1765		Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa paid tribute to England.
		American Stamp Act proposed.
	33	W. H. returned to India, as Member of Council at Madras.
1769		Letters of Junius commenced.
1772	40	W. H. made Governor of Bengal.

A.D.	Warren Hastings' Age	
1772	40	The dual government abolished in Bengal. Mahommed Reza Khan, the native governor, removed. Hastings sold Corah and Allahabad to Sujah Dowlah.
1773		The Regulating Act passed. Supreme Court of Judicature established at Calcutta.
1774	42	W. H. made Governor-General of British India. Sir Elijah Impey and Sir Philip Francis arrived in Calcutta. Death of Lord Clive, November 22.
1775	43	W. H. accused of taking a bribe from Meer Jaffer's relative.
1776		Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations' published. Nuncumar executed. Declaration of American Independence.
1777	45	Difficulties between Hastings and the Council; and with the Directors.
1778	46	W. H. married Baroness Imhoff. Pondicherry captured by Munro. Great siege of Gibraltar began.
1779		W. H. fought a duel with Sir Philip Francis.
1780	48	Hyder Ali commenced war in the Carnatic. Gordon Riots in London.
1781	49	Benares subjected to the Company. W. H. accused of receiving a bribe of 100,000 <i>l.</i> from the Nalob of Oude, Asaph-ul-Dowlah. Hyder Ali defeated by Coote at Porto Novo. Pitt carried his India Bill.
1784		W. H. resigned and returned to England.
1785	53	Burke proposed to impeach Hastings.
1787		Hastings' trial for high crimes and misdemeanours, began February 13.
1788	56	Meeting of the States-General in France. Burke and Fox ceased to be friends.
1789		King of France, Louis XVI., beheaded.
1791		W. H. settled at Daylesford.
1793	62	W. H. acquitted April 23.
1794	63	Mysore annexed. Tippoo Sahib killed.
1795		Lord Macaulay born.
1799	68	Mahrattas and French defeated at Assaye by Arthur Wellesley.
1800		Napoleon Bonaparte made Emperor of the French.
1803		Lord Nelson gained the victory of Trafalgar.
1804		Slave trade abolished by England.
1805	81	House of Commons 'uncovered and stood up' to receive Hastings.
1815		Battle of Waterloo.
1818		Death of Hastings, at Daylesford, August 22.

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WARREN HASTINGS.



CHAPTER I.

THE BOY'S AMBITION.

WE are inclined to think that we shall best meet the wishes of our readers, if, instead of minutely examining this book, we attempt to give, in a way necessarily hasty and imperfect, our own view of the life and character of Mr. Hastings. Our feeling towards him 5 is not exactly that of the House of Commons which impeached him in 1787; neither is it that of the House of Commons which uncovered and stood up to receive him in 1813. He had great qualities, and he rendered great services to the State. But to repre- 10 sent him as a man of stainless virtue is to make him ridiculous; and from regard for his memory, if from no other feeling, his friends would have done well to lend no countenance to such adulation. We believe that, if he were now living, he would have sufficient 15 judgment and sufficient greatness of mind to wish to be shown as he was. He must have known that there were dark spots on his fame. He might also have felt with pride that the splendour of his fame would bear many spots. He would have wish

posterity to have a likeness of him, though an unfavourable likeness, rather than a daub at once insipid and unnatural, resembling neither him nor anybody else. 'Paint me as I am,' said Oliver Cromwell, 5 while sitting to young Lely. 'If you leave out the scars and wrinkles, I will not pay you a shilling.' Even in such a trifle, the great Protector showed both his good sense and his magnanimity. He did not wish all that was characteristic in his countenance to 10 be lost, in the vain attempt to give him the regular features and smooth blooming cheeks of the curled minions of James the First. He was content that his face should go forth marked with all the blemishes which had been put on it by time, by war, 15 by sleepless nights, by anxiety, perhaps by remorse ; but with valour, policy, authority, and public care written in all its princely lines. If men truly great knew their own interest, it is thus that they would wish their minds to be portrayed.

20 Warren Hastings sprang from an ancient and illustrious race. It has been affirmed that his pedigree can be traced back to the great Danish sea-king whose sails were long the terror of both coasts of the British Channel, and who, after many fierce and 25 doubtful struggles, yielded at last to the valour and genius of Alfred. But the undoubted splendour of the line of Hastings needs no illustration from fable. One branch of that line wore, in the fourteenth century, the coronet of Pembroke. From another branch 30 sprang the renowned Chamberlain, the faithful adherent of the White Rose, whose fate has furnished so striking a theme both to poets and to historians. *His family received from the Tudors the earldom of*

Huntingdon, which, after long dispossession, was regained in our time by a series of events scarcely paralleled in romance.

The lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, claimed to be considered as the heads of this distinguished family. The main stock, indeed, prospered less than some of the younger shoots. But the Daylesford family, though not ennobled, was wealthy and highly considered, till, about two hundred years ago, it was overwhelmed by the great ruin of the Civil War. The Hastings of that time was a zealous cavalier. He raised money on his lands, sent his plate to the mint at Oxford, joined the royal army, and, after spending half his property in the cause of King Charles, was glad to ransom himself by making over most of the remaining half to Speaker Lenthall. The old seat at Daylesford still remained in the family; but it could no longer be kept up; and in the following generation it was sold to a merchant of London.

20

Before this transfer took place, the last Hastings of Daylesford had presented his second son to the rectory of the parish in which the ancient residence of the family stood. The living was of little value; and the situation of the poor clergyman, after the sale of the estate, was deplorable. He was constantly engaged in lawsuits about his tithes with the new lord of the manor, and was at length utterly ruined. His eldest son, Howard, a well-conducted young man, obtained a place in the Customs. The second son, Pynaston, an idle worthless boy, married before he was sixteen, lost his wife in two years, and died in the West Indies, leaving to the care of his unfor-

fortunate father a little orphan, destined to strange and memorable vicissitudes of fortune.

Warren, the son of Pynaston, was born on December 6, 1732. His mother died a few days later, and he was left dependent on his distressed grandfather. The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench with the sons of the peasantry ; nor did any thing in his garb or fare indicate that his life was to take a widely different course from that of the young rustics with whom he studied and played. But no cloud could overcast the dawn of so much genius and so much ambition. The very ploughmen observed, and long remembered, how kindly little Warren took to his book. The daily sight of the lands which his ancestors had possessed, and which had passed into the hands of strangers, filled his young brain with wild fancies and projects. He loved to hear stories of the wealth and greatness of his progenitors, of their splendid housekeeping, their loyalty, and their valour. On one bright summer day, the boy, then just seven years old, lay on the bank of the rivulet which flows through the old domain of his house to join the Isis. There, as threescore and ten years later he told the tale, rose in his mind a scheme which, through all the turns of his eventful career, was never abandoned. He would recover the estate which had belonged to his fathers. He would be Hastings of Daylesford. This purpose, formed in infancy and poverty, grew stronger as his intellect expanded and as his fortune rose. He pursued his plan with that calm but indomitable force of will *which was the most striking peculiarity of his charac-*

ter. When, under a tropical sun, he ruled fifty millions of Asiatics, his hopes, amidst all the cares of war, finance, and legislation, still pointed to Daylesford. And when his long public life, so singularly chequered with good and evil, with glory and obloquy, 5 had at length closed for ever, it was to Daylesford that he retired to die.

When he was eight years old, his uncle Howard determined to take charge of him, and to give him a liberal education. The boy went up to London, and 10 was sent to a school at Newington, where he was well taught but ill fed. He always attributed the smallness of his stature to the hard and scanty fare of this seminary. At ten he was removed to Westminster School, then flourishing under the care of Dr. Nichols. 15 Vinny Bourne, as his pupils affectionately called him, was one of the masters. Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, Cowper, were among the students. With Cowper, Hastings formed a friendship which neither the lapse of time, nor a wide dissimilarity of 20 opinions and pursuits, could wholly dissolve. It does not appear that they ever met after they had grown to manhood. But forty years later, when the voices of many great orators were crying for vengeance on the oppressor of India, the shy and 25 secluded poet could image to himself Hastings the Governor-General only as the Hastings with whom he had rowed on the Thames and played in the cloister, and refused to believe that so good-tempered a fellow could have done anything very wrong. His 30 own life had been spent in praying, musing, and rhyming among the water-lilies of the Ouse. He had preserved in no common measure the innocence,

of childhood. His spirit had indeed been severely tried, but not by temptations which impelled him to any gross violation of the rules of social morality. He had never been attacked by combinations of
5 powerful and deadly enemies. He had never been compelled to make a choice between innocence and greatness, between crime and ruin. Firmly as he held in theory the doctrine of human depravity, his habits were such that he was unable to conceive
10 how far from the path of right even kind and noble natures may be hurried by the rage of conflict and the lust of dominion.

Hastings had another associate at Westminster of whom we shall have occasion to make frequent
15 mention, Elijah Impey. We know little about their school days, but, we think, we may safely venture to guess that, whenever Hastings wished to play any trick more than usually naughty, he hired Impey with a tart or a ball to act as fag in the worst part of
20 the prank.

Warren was distinguished among his comrades as an excellent swimmer, boatman, and scholar. At fourteen he was first in the examination for the foundation. His name in gilded letters on the walls
25 of the dormitory still attests his victory over many older competitors. He stayed two years longer at the school, and was looking forward to a studentship at Christ Church, when an event happened which changed the whole course of his life. Howard
30 Hastings died, bequeathing his nephew to the care of a friend and distant relation, named Chiswick. This gentleman, though he did not absolutely refuse the charge, was desirous to rid himself of it as soon as

possible. Dr. Nichols made strong remonstrances against the cruelty of interrupting the studies of a youth who seemed likely to be one of the first scholars of the age. He even offered to bear the expense of sending his favourite pupil to Oxford. 5 But Mr. Chiswick was inflexible. He thought the years which had already been wasted on hexameters and pentameters quite sufficient. He had it in his power to obtain for the lad a writership in the service of the East India Company. Whether the young 10 adventurer, when once shipped off, made a fortune or died of a liver complaint, he equally ceased to be a burden to anybody. Warren was accordingly removed from Westminster School, and placed for a few months at a commercial academy, to study 15 arithmetic and book-keeping. In January 1750, a few days after he had completed his seventeenth year, he sailed for Bengal, and arrived at his destination in the October following.

CHAPTER II.

HASTINGS SERVES UNDER LORD CLIVE IN INDIA.

HE was immediately placed at a desk in the 20 Secretary's office at Calcutta, and laboured there during two years. Fort William was then purely a commercial settlement. In the south of India the encroaching policy of Dupleix had transformed the servants of the English Company, against their will, 25 into diplomatists and generals. The war of the succession was raging in the Carnatic ; and the tide had

been suddenly turned against the French by the genius of young Robert Clive. But in Bengal the European settlers, at peace with the natives and with each other, were wholly occupied with ledgers and
5 bills of lading.

After two years passed in keeping accounts at Calcutta, Hastings was sent up the country to Cossimbazar, a town which lies on the Hoogley, about a mile from Moorshedabad, and which then bore to
10 Moorshedabad a relation, if we may compare small things with great, such as the city of London bears to Westminster. Moorshedabad was the abode of the prince who, by an authority ostensibly derived from the Mogul, but really independent, ruled the
15 three great provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

At Moorshedabad were the court, the harem, and the public offices. Cossimbazar was a port and a place of trade, renowned for the quantity and excellence of the silks which were sold in its marts, and constantly
20 receiving and sending forth fleets of richly-laden barges. At this important point, the Company had established a small factory subordinate to that of Fort William. Here, during several years, Hastings was employed in making bargains for stuffs with
25 native brokers. While he was thus engaged, Surajah Dowlah succeeded to the government, and declared war against the English. The defenceless settlement of Cossimbazar, lying close to the tyrant's capital, was instantly seized. Hastings was sent a prisoner
30 to Moorshedabad, but, in consequence of the humane intervention of the servants of the Dutch Company, was treated with indulgence. Meanwhile the Nabob marched on Calcutta; the Governor and the com-

mandant fled ; the town and citadel were taken, and most of the English prisoners perished in the Black Hole.

In these events originated the greatness of Warren Hastings. The fugitive Governor and his companions had taken refuge on the dreary islet of Fulda, near the mouth of the Hoogley. They were naturally desirous to obtain full information respecting the proceedings of the Nabob, and no person seemed so likely to furnish it as Hastings, who was a prisoner at large in the immediate neighbourhood of the court. He thus became a diplomatic agent, and soon established a high character for ability and resolution. The treason which at a later period was fatal to Surajah Dowlah was already in progress ; and Hastings was admitted to the deliberations of the conspirators. But the time for striking had not arrived. It was necessary to postpone the execution of the design ; and Hastings, who was now in extreme peril, fled to Fulda.

Soon after his arrival at Fulda, the expedition from Madras, commanded by Clive, appeared in the Hoogley. Warren, young, intrepid, and excited probably by the example of the Commander of the Forces, who, having like himself been a mercantile agent of the Company, had been turned by public calamities into a soldier, determined to serve in the ranks. During the early operations of the war he carried a musket, but the quick eye of Clive soon perceived that the head of the young volunteer would be more useful than his arm. When, after the battle of Plassey, Meer Jaffier was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Hastings was appointed to reside at the

court of the new prince as agent for the Company.

He remained at Moorshedabad till the year 1761, when he became a Member of Council, and was consequently forced to reside at Calcutta. This was during the interval between Clive's first and second administration, an interval which has left on the fame of the East India Company a stain, not wholly effaced by many years of just and humane government. Mr. Vansittart, the Governor, was at the head of a new and anomalous empire. On one side was a band of English functionaries, daring, intelligent, eager to be rich. On the other side was a great native population, helpless, timid, accustomed to crouch under oppression. To keep the stronger race from preying on the weaker, was an undertaking which tasked to the utmost the talents and energy of Clive. Vansittart, with fair intentions, was a feeble and inefficient ruler. The master caste, as was natural, broke loose from all restraint; and then was seen what we believe to be the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of civilisation without its mercy. To all other despotism there is a check, imperfect indeed, and liable to gross abuse, but still sufficient to preserve society from the last extreme of misery. A time comes when the evils of submission are obviously greater than those of resistance, when fear itself begets a sort of courage, when a convulsive burst of popular rage and despair warns tyrants not to presume too far on the patience of mankind. But against misgovernment such as then afflicted Bengal it was impossible to struggle. The superior intelligence and energy of the dominant class made their

power irresistible. A war of Bengalees against Englishmen was like a war of sheep against wolves, of men against demons. The only protection which the conquered could find was in the moderation, the clemency, the enlarged policy of the conquerors. That 5 protection, at a later period, they found. But at first English power came among them unaccompanied by English morality. There was an interval between the time at which they became our subjects, and the time at which we began to reflect that we were 10 bound to discharge towards them the duties of rulers. During that interval the business of a servant of the Company was simply to wring out of the natives a hundred or two hundred thousand pounds as speedily as possible, that he might return home before his 15 constitution had suffered from the heat, to marry a peer's daughter, to buy rotten boroughs in Cornwall, and to give balls in St. James's Square. Of the conduct of Hastings at this time little is known ; but the little that is known, and the circumstance that little 20 is known, must be considered as honourable to him. He could not protect the natives ; all that he could do was to abstain from plundering and oppressing them ; and this he appears to have done. It is certain that at this time he continued poor ; and it is equally certain 25 that by cruelty and dishonesty he might easily have become rich. It is certain that he was never charged with having borne a share in the worst abuses which then prevailed ; and it is almost equally certain that, if he had borne a share in those abuses, the able and 30 bitter enemies who afterwards persecuted him would not have failed to discover and to proclaim his guilt. The keen, severe, and even malevolent scrutiny to

which his whole public life was subjected, a scrutiny unparalleled, as we believe, in the history of mankind, is in one respect advantageous to his reputation. It brought many lamentable blemishes to light; but it
5 entitles him to be considered pure from every blemish which has not been brought to light.

The truth is that the temptations to which so many English functionaries yielded in the time of Mr. Vansittart were not temptations addressed to
10 the ruling passions of Warren Hastings. He was not squeamish in pecuniary transactions; but he was neither sordid nor rapacious. He was far too enlightened a man to look on a great empire merely as a buccaneer would look on a galleon. Had his heart
15 been much worse than it was, his understanding would have preserved him from that extremity of baseness. He was an unscrupulous, perhaps an unprincipled, statesman; but still he was a statesman, and not a freebooter.

CHAPTER III.

VISIT TO ENGLAND.

20 IN 1764 Hastings returned to England. He had realised only a very moderate fortune; and that moderate fortune was soon reduced to nothing, partly by his praiseworthy liberality, and partly by his mismanagement. Towards his relations he appears to
25 have acted very generously. The greater part of his savings he left in Bengal, hoping probably to obtain *the high* usury of India. But high usury and bad

security generally go together ; and Hastings lost both interest and principal.

He remained four years in England. Of his life at this time very little is known, but it has been asserted, and is highly probable, that liberal studies 5 and the society of men of letters occupied a great part of his time. It is to be remembered to his honour that, in days when the languages of the East were regarded by other servants of the Company merely as the means of communicating with weavers 10 and money-changers, his enlarged and accomplished mind sought in Asiatic learning for new forms of intellectual enjoyment, and for new views of government and society. Perhaps, like most persons who have paid much attention to departments of know- 15 ledge which lie out of the common track, he was inclined to overrate the value of his favourite studies. He conceived that the cultivation of Persian literature might with advantage be made a part of the liberal education of an English gentleman ; and he 20 drew up a plan with that view. It is said that the University of Oxford, in which Oriental learning had never, since the revival of letters, been wholly neglected, was to be the seat of the institution which he contemplated. An endowment was expected from 25 the munificence of the Company ; and professors thoroughly competent to interpret Hafiz and Ferdusi were to be engaged in the East. Hastings called on Johnson, with the hope, as it should seem, of interesting in this project a man who enjoyed the highest 30 literary reputation, and who was particularly connected with Oxford. The interview appears to have left on Johnson's mind a most favourable impression

of the talents and attainments of his visitor. Long after, when Hastings was ruling the immense population of British India, the old philosopher wrote to him, and referred in the most courtly terms, though
5 with great dignity, to their short but agreeable intercourse.

Hastings soon began to look again towards India. He had little to attach him to England; and his pecuniary embarrassments were great. He solicited
10 his old masters the Directors for employment. They acceded to his request, with high compliments both to his abilities and to his integrity, and appointed him a Member of Council at Madras. It would be unjust not to mention that, though forced to borrow
15 money for his outfit, he did not withdraw any portion of the sum which he had appropriated to the relief of his distressed relations. In the spring of 1769 he embarked on board of the 'Duke of Grafton,' and commenced a voyage distinguished by incidents
20 which might furnish matter for a novel.

Among the passengers in the 'Duke of Grafton' was a German of the name of Imhoff. He called himself a Baron; but he was in distressed circumstances, and was going out to Madras as a portrait-
25 painter, in the hope of picking up some of the pagodas which were then lightly got and as lightly spent by the English in India. The Baron was accompanied by his wife, a native, we have somewhere read, of Archangel. This young woman, who, born
30 under the Arctic circle, was destined to play the part of a queen under the tropic of Cancer, had an agreeable person, a cultivated mind, and manners in the *highest degree engaging*. She despised her husband

heartily, and, as the story we have to tell sufficiently proves, not without reason. She was interested by the conversation and flattered by the attentions of Hastings. The situation was indeed perilous. No place is so propitious to the formation either of close friendships or of deadly enmities as an Indiaman. There are very few people who do not find a voyage which lasts several months insupportably dull. Anything is welcome which may break that long monotony—a sail, a shark, an albatross, a man overboard. Most passengers find some resource in eating twice as many meals as on land. But the great devices for killing the time are quarrelling and flirting. The facilities for both these exciting pursuits are great. The inmates of the ship are thrown together far more than in any country-seat or boarding-house. None can escape from the rest except by imprisoning himself in a cell in which he can hardly turn. All food, all exercise, is taken in company. Ceremony is to a great extent banished. It is every day in the power of a mischievous person to inflict innumerable annoyances. It is every day in the power of an amiable person to confer little services. It not seldom happens that serious distress and danger call forth, in genuine beauty and deformity, heroic virtues and abject vices which, in the ordinary intercourse of good society, might remain during many years unknown even to intimate associates. Under such circumstances met Warren Hastings and the Baroness Imhoff, two persons whose accomplishments would have attracted notice in any court of Europe. The gentleman had no domestic ties. The lady was tied to a husband for whom she had no regard, and

who had no regard for his own honour. An attachment sprang up, which was soon strengthened by events such as could hardly have occurred on land. Hastings fell ill. The Baroness nursed him with
5 womanly tenderness, gave him his medicines with her own hand, and even sat up in his cabin while he slept. Long before the 'Duke of Grafton' reached Madras, Hastings was in love. But his love was of a most characteristic description. Like his hatred, like
10 his ambition, like all his passions, it was strong, but not impetuous ; it was calm, deep, earnest, patient of delay, unconquerable by time. It was arranged that the Baroness should institute a suit for a divorce in the courts of Franconia, and that the Baron should afford
15 every facility to the proceeding. It was also agreed that Hastings should bestow some very substantial marks of gratitude on the complaisant husband, and should, when the marriage was dissolved, make the lady his wife, and adopt the children whom she had
20 already borne to Imhoff.

CHAPTER IV.

HASTINGS IS MADE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

AT Madras, Hastings found the trade of the Company in a very disorganised state. His own tastes would have led him rather to political than to commercial pursuits ; but he knew that the favour of
25 his employers depended chiefly on their dividends, and that their dividends depended chiefly on the investment. He therefore, with great judgment, de-

terminated to apply his vigorous mind for a time to this department of business, which had been much neglected since the servants of the Company had ceased to be clerks, and had become warriors and negotiators.

5

In a very few months he effected an important reform. The Directors notified to him their high approbation, and were so much pleased with his conduct that they determined to place him at the head of the government of Bengal. Early in 1772 10 he quitted Fort St. George for his new post. The Imhoffs, who were still man and wife, accompanied him, and lived at Calcutta.

When Hastings took his seat at the head of the Council board, Bengal was still governed according to 15 the system which Clive had devised, a system which was, perhaps, skilfully contrived for the purpose of facilitating and concealing a great revolution, but which, when that revolution was complete and irrevocable, could produce nothing but inconvenience. There 20 were two Governments, the real and the ostensible. The supreme power belonged to the Company, and was in truth the most despotic power that can be conceived. The only restraint on the English masters of the country was that which their own justice and 25 humanity imposed on them. There was no constitutional check on their will, and resistance to them was utterly hopeless.

But, though thus absolute in reality, the English had not yet assumed the style of sovereignty. They 30 held their territories as vassals of the throne of Delhi; they raised their revenues as collectors appointed by the imperial commission; their public

seal was inscribed with the imperial titles ; and their mint struck only the imperial coin.

There was still a Nabob of Bengal, who lived at Moorshedabad, surrounded by princely magnificence. He was approached with outward marks of reverence, and his name was used in public instruments ; but in the government of the country he had less real share than the youngest writer or cadet in the Company's service.

70 The English Council, which represented the Company at Calcutta, was constituted on a very different plan from that which has since been adopted. At present the Governor is, as to all executive measures, absolute. He can declare war, conclude peace, ap-
15 point public functionaries or remove them, in opposition to the unanimous sense of those who sit with him in council. They are, indeed, entitled to know all that is done, to discuss all that is done, to advise, to remonstrate, to send protests to England. But it
20 is with the Governor that the supreme power resides, and on him that the whole responsibility rests. This system, which was introduced by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, in spite of the strenuous opposition of Mr. Burke, we conceive to be on the whole the best that
25 was ever devised for the government of a country where no materials can be found for a representative constitution. In the time of Hastings the Governor had only one vote in council, and, in case of an equal division, a casting vote. It therefore happened not
30 unfrequently that he was overruled on the gravest questions ; and it was possible that he might be wholly excluded, for years together, from the real *direction* of public affairs.

The English functionaries at Fort William had as yet paid little or no attention to the internal government of Bengal. The only branch of politics about which they much busied themselves was negotiation with the native princes. The police, the administration of justice, the details of the collection of revenue, were almost entirely neglected. We may remark that the phraseology of the Company's servants still bears the traces of this state of things. To this day they always use the word 'political' as synonymous with 'diplomatic.' We could name a gentleman still living who was described by the highest authority as an invaluable public servant, eminently fit to be at the head of the internal administration of a whole presidency, but unfortunately quite ignorant of all political business.

The internal government of Bengal the English rulers delegated to a great native minister, who was stationed at Moorshedabad. All military affairs, and, with the exception of what pertains to mere ceremonial, all foreign affairs, were withdrawn from his control; but the other departments of the administration were entirely confided to him. His own stipend amounted to near a hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. The personal allowance of the Nabob, amounting to more than three hundred thousand pounds a year, passed through the minister's hands, and was, to a great extent, at his disposal. The collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, were left to this high functionary; and for the exercise of his immense power he was responsible to none but the British masters of the country.

A situation so important, lucrative, and splendid, was naturally an object of ambition to the ablest and most powerful natives. Clive had found it difficult to decide between conflicting pretensions. Two
5 candidates stood out prominently from the crowd, each of them the representative of a race and of a religion.

CHAPTER V.

CHARACTER OF THE BENGALLEES DESCRIBED.

ONE of these was Mahommed Reza Khan, a Mus-
sulman of Persian extraction, able, active, religious
10 after the fashion of his people, and highly esteemed by them. In England he might perhaps have been regarded as a corrupt and greedy politician ; but, tried by the lower standard of Indian morality, he might be considered as a man of integrity and
15 honour.

His competitor was a Hindoo Brahmin, whose name has, by a terrible and melancholy event, been inseparably associated with that of Warren Hastings, the Maharajah Nuncomar. This man had played an
20 important part in all the revolutions which, since the time of Surajah Dowlah, had taken place in Bengal. To the consideration which in that country belongs to high and pure caste, he added the weight which is derived from wealth, talents, and experience. Of his
25 moral character it is difficult to give a notion to those who are acquainted with human nature only as it appears in our island. What the Italian is to the *Englishman*, what the Hindoo is to the Italian, what

the Bengalee is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar to other Bengalees. The physical organisation of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapour bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. 5 During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, veracity, are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavourable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. 10 It is weak even to helplessness for purposes of manly resistance ; but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration not unmingled with contempt. All those arts which are the natural defence of the weak, are more familiar to 15 this subtle race than to the Ionian of the time of Juvenal, or to the Jew of the dark ages. What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song, is to woman, deceit is to the 20 Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges. All those millions do not furnish one sepoy to the armies of the Com- 25 pany. But as usurers, as money-changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness, the Bengalee is by no means placable in his enmities or prone to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres 30 to his purposes, yields only to the immediate pressure of fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage which is often wanting to his masters. To inevitable

evils he is sometimes found to oppose a passive fortitude, such as the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage. An European warrior, who rushes on a battery of cannon with a loud hurrah, will sometimes shriek
5 under the surgeon's knife, and fall into an agony of despair at the sentence of death. But the Bengalee, who would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonoured, without having the spirit to strike one blow, has yet been
10 known to endure torture with the firmness of Mucius, and to mount the scaffold with the steady step and even pulse of Algernon Sidney.

In Nuncomar the national character was strongly and with exaggeration personified. The Company's
15 servants had repeatedly detected him in the most criminal intrigues. On one occasion he brought a false charge against another Hindoo, and tried to substantiate it by producing forged documents. On another occasion it was discovered that, while pro-
20 fessing the strongest attachment to the English, he was engaged in several conspiracies against them, and in particular that he was the medium of a correspondence between the Court of Delhi and the French authorities in the Carnatic. For these and
25 similar practices he had been long detained in confinement. But his talents and influence had not only procured his liberation, but had obtained for him a certain degree of consideration even among the British rulers of his country.

30 Clive was extremely unwilling to place a Mussulman at the head of the administration of Bengal. On the other hand, he could not bring himself to confer immense power on a man to whom every sort

of villainy had repeatedly been brought home. Therefore, though the Nabob, over whom Nuncomar had by intrigue acquired great influence, begged that the artful Hindoo might be intrusted with the government, Clive, after some hesitation, decided honestly 5 and wisely in favour of Mahommed Reza Khan. When Hastings became Governor, Mahommed Reza Khan had held power seven years. An infant son of Meer Jaffier was now Nabob; and the guardianship of the young prince's person had been confided to 10 the minister.

CHAPTER VI.

RUIN OF MAHOMMED REZA KHAN.

NUNCOMAR, stimulated at once by cupidity and malice, had been constantly attempting to hurt the reputation of his successful rival. This was not difficult. The revenues of Bengal, under the adminis- 15 tration established by Clive, did not yield such a surplus as had been anticipated by the Company; for, at that time, the most absurd notions were entertained in England respecting the wealth of India. Palaces of porphyry, hung with the richest brocade, 20 heaps of pearls and diamonds, vaults from which pagodas and gold mohurs were measured out by the bushel, filled the imagination even of men of business. Nobody seemed to be aware of what nevertheless was most undoubtedly the truth, that India was a poorer 25 country than countries which in Europe are reckoned poor—than Ireland, for example, or than Portugal. It

was confidently believed by Lords of the Treasury and members for the City, that Bengal would not only defray its own charges, but would afford an increased dividend to the proprietors of India stock, and large
5 relief to the English finances. These absurd expectations were disappointed ; and the Directors, naturally enough, chose to attribute the disappointment rather to the mismanagement of Mahommed Reza Khan than to their own ignorance of the country in-
10 trusted to their care. They were confirmed in their error by the agents of Nuncomar, for Nuncomar had agents even in Leadenhall Street. Soon after Hastings reached Calcutta, he received a letter addressed by the Court of Directors, not to the Council generally,
15 but to himself in particular. He was directed to remove Mahommed Reza Khan, to arrest him, together with all his family and all his partisans, and to institute a strict inquiry into the whole administration of the province. It was added that the Governor
20 would do well to avail himself of the assistance of Nuncomar in the investigation. The vices of Nuncomar were acknowledged, but even from his vices, it was said, much advantage might at such a conjuncture be derived ; and, though he could not safely
25 be trusted, it might still be proper to encourage him by hopes of reward.

The Governor bore no good will to Nuncomar. Many years before, they had known each other at Moorshedabad ; and then a quarrel had arisen be-
30 tween them which all the authority of their superiors could hardly compose. Widely as they differed in most points, they resembled each other in this, that both were men of unforgiving natures. To Ma-

hommed Reza Khan, on the other hand, Hastings had no feelings of hostility. Nevertheless he proceeded to execute the instructions of the Company with an alacrity which he never showed, except when instructions were in perfect conformity with his own 5 views. He had, wisely as we think, determined to get rid of the system of double government in Bengal. The orders of the Directors furnished him with the means of effecting his purpose, and dispensed him from the necessity of discussing the matter with 10 his Council. He took his measures with his usual vigour and dexterity. At midnight, the palace of Mahommed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad was surrounded by a battalion of sepoy. The minister was roused from his slumbers and informed that he was a 15 prisoner. With the Mussulman gravity he bent his head and submitted himself to the will of God. He fell not alone. A chief named Schitab Roy had been intrusted with the government of Bahar. His valour and his attachment to the English had more than 20 once been signally proved. On that memorable day on which the people of Patna saw from their walls the whole army of the Mogul scattered by the little band of Captain Knox, the voice of the British conquerors assigned the palm of gallantry to the brave 25 Asiatic. 'I never,' said Knox, when he introduced Schitab Roy, covered with blood and dust, to the English functionaries assembled in the factory, 'I never saw a native fight so before.' Schitab Roy was involved in the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan, 30 was removed from office, and was placed under arrest. The members of the Council received no intimation of these measures till the prisoners were on their road to *Calcutta*.

The inquiry into the conduct of the minister was postponed on different pretences. He was detained in an easy confinement during many months. In the meantime the great revolution which Hastings
5 had planned was carried into effect. The office of minister was abolished. The internal administration was transferred to the servants of the Company. A system—a very imperfect system, it is true—of civil and criminal justice, under English superintendence,
10 was established. The Nabob was no longer to have even an ostensible share in the government ; but he was still to receive a considerable annual allowance, and to be surrounded with a state of sovereignty. As he was an infant, it was necessary to provide guar-
15 dians for his person and property. His person was intrusted to a lady of his father's harem, known by the name of the Munny Begum. The office of treasurer of the household was bestowed on a son of Nuncomar, named Goordas. Nuncomar's services
20 were wanted ; yet he could not safely be trusted with power ; and Hastings thought it a masterstroke of policy to reward the able and unprincipled parent by promoting the inoffensive child.

The revolution completed, the double government
25 dissolved, the Company installed in the full sovereignty of Bengal, Hastings had no motive to treat the late ministers with rigour. Their trial had been put off on various pleas till the new organisation was complete. They were then brought before a com-
30 mittee, over which the Governor presided. Schitab Roy was speedily acquitted with honour. A formal apology was made to him for the restraint to which he had been subjected. All the Eastern marks of

respect were bestowed on him. He was clothed in a robe of state, presented with jewels and with a richly harnessed elephant, and sent back to his government at Patna. But his health had suffered from confinement ; his high spirit had been cruelly wounded ; and soon after his liberation he died of a broken heart. 5

The innocence of Mahommed Reza Khan was not so clearly established. But the Governor was not disposed to deal harshly. After a long hearing, in which Nuncomar appeared as the accuser, and displayed both the art and the inveterate rancour which distinguished him, Hastings pronounced that the charge had not been made out, and ordered the fallen minister to be set at liberty. 10

Nuncomar had proposed to destroy the Mussulman administration, and to rise on its ruin. Both his malevolence and his cupidity had been disappointed. Hastings had made him a tool, had used him for the purpose of accomplishing the transfer of the government from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, from native to European hands. The rival, the enemy, so long envied, so implacably persecuted, had been dismissed unhurt. The situation so long and ardently desired had been abolished. It was natural that the Governor should be from that time an object of the most intense hatred to the vindictive Brahmin. As yet, however, it was necessary to suppress such feelings. The time was coming when that long animosity was to end in a desperate and deadly struggle. 15 20 25

CHAPTER VII.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL HASTINGS SELLS TWO PROVINCES.

IN the meantime, Hastings was compelled to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The object of his diplomacy was at this time simply to get money. The finances of his government were in an embarrassed state, and this embarrassment he was determined to relieve by some means, fair or foul. The principle which directed all his dealings with his neighbours is fully expressed by the old motto of one of the great predatory families of Teviotdale, 'Thou shalt want ere I want.' He seems to have laid it down, as a fundamental proposition which could not be disputed, that, when he had not as many lacs of rupees as the public service required, he was to take them from anybody who had. One thing, indeed, is to be said in excuse for him. The pressure applied to him by his employers at home was such as only the highest virtue could have withstood, such as left him no choice except to commit great wrongs, or to resign his high post, and with that post all his hopes of fortune and distinction. The Directors, it is true, never enjoined or applauded any crime. Far from it. Whoever examines their letters written at that time will find there many just and humane sentiments, many excellent precepts, in short, an admirable code of political ethics. But every exhortation is modified or nullified by a demand for money. 'Govern leniently, and send more money ; practise strict justice

and moderation towards neighbouring powers, and send more money ;' this is in truth the sum of almost all the instructions that Hastings ever received from home. Now these instructions, being interpreted, mean simply, ' Be the father and the oppressor 5 of the people ; be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious.' The Directors dealt with India as the Church, in the good old times, dealt with a heretic. They delivered the victim over to the executioners, with an earnest request that all possible tenderness 10 might be shown. We by no means accuse or suspect those who framed these despatches, of hypocrisy. It is probable that, writing fifteen thousand miles from the place where their orders were to be carried into effect, they never perceived the gross inconsistency 15 of which they were guilty. But the inconsistency was at once manifest to their vicegerent at Calcutta, who, with an empty treasury, with an unpaid army, with his own salary often in arrear, with deficient crops, with Government tenants daily running away, 20 was called upon to remit home another half-million without fail. Hastings saw that it was absolutely necessary for him to disregard either the moral discourses or the pecuniary requisitions of his employers. Being forced to disobey them in something, he had to 25 consider what kind of disobedience they would most readily pardon ; and he correctly judged that the safest course would be to neglect the sermons and to find the rupees.

A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained 30 by conscientious scruples, speedily discovered several modes of relieving the financial embarrassments of the Government. The allowance of the Nabob of

Bengal was reduced at a stroke from three hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year to half that sum. The Company had bound itself to pay near three hundred thousand pounds a year to the Great Mogul; as a mark of homage for the provinces which he had intrusted to their care ; and they had ceded to him the districts of Corah and Allahabad. On the plea that the Mogul was not really independent, but merely a tool in the hands of others, Hastings determined to retract these concessions. He accordingly declared that the English would pay no more tribute, and sent troops to occupy Allahabad and Corah. The situation of these places was such, that there would be little advantage and great expense in retaining them. Hastings, who wanted money and not territory, determined to sell them. A purchaser was not wanting. The rich province of Oude had, in the general dissolution of the Mogul Empire, fallen to the share of the great Mussulman house by which it is still governed. About twenty years ago, this house, by the permission of the British Government, assumed the royal title ; but, in the time of Warren Hastings, such an assumption would have been considered by the Mahommedans of India as a monstrous impiety. The Prince of Oude, though he held the power, did not venture to use the style of sovereignty. To the appellation of Nabob or Viceroy, he added that of Vizier of the monarchy of Hindostan, just as in the last century the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, though independent of the Emperor, and often in arms against him, were proud to style themselves his Grand Chamberlain and Grand Marshal. Sujah Dowlah, then Nabob Vizier, was on

excellent terms with the English. He had a large treasure. Allahabad and Corah were so situated that they might be of use to him and could be of none to the Company. The buyer and seller soon came to an understanding ; and the provinces which had been 5 torn from the Mogul were made over to the Government of Oude for about half a million sterling.

But there was another matter still more important to be settled by the Vizier and the Governor. The fate of a brave people was to be decided. It was 10 decided in a manner which has left a lasting stain on the fame of Hastings and of England.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL LETS OUT AN ENGLISH
ARMY ON HIRE TO CONQUER THE ROHILLAS.

THE people of Central Asia had always been to the inhabitants of India what the warriors of the German forests were to the subjects of the decay- 15 ing monarchy of Rome. The dark, slender, and timid Hindoo shrank from a conflict with the strong muscle and resolute spirit of the fair race which dwelt beyond the passes. There is reason to believe that, at a period anterior to the dawn of regular 20 history, the people who spoke the rich and flexible Sanscrit came from regions lying far beyond the Hyphasis and the Hystaspes, and imposed their yoke on the children of the soil. It is certain that, during the last ten centuries, a succession of invaders descended 25

from the west on Hindostan ; nor was the course of conquest ever turned back towards the setting sun, till that memorable campaign in which the cross of Saint George was planted on the walls of Ghizni.

5 The Emperors of Hindostan themselves came from the other side of the great mountain ridge ; and it had always been their practice to recruit their army from the hardy and valiant race from which their own illustrious house sprang. Among the military adven-
10 turers who were allured to the Mogul standards from the neighbourhood of Cabul and Candahar, were conspicuous several gallant bands, known by the name of the Rohillas. Their services had been rewarded with large tracts of land, fiefs of the spear, if we may
15 use an expression drawn from an analogous state of things, in that fertile plain through which the Ramgunga flows from the snowy heights of Kumaon to join the Ganges. In the general confusion which followed the death of Aurungzebe, the warlike colony
20 became virtually independent. The Rohillas were distinguished from the other inhabitants of India by a peculiarly fair complexion. They were more honourably distinguished by courage in war, and by skill in the arts of peace. While anarchy raged from Lahore
25 to Cape Comorin, their little territory enjoyed the blessings of repose under the guardianship of valour. Agriculture and commerce flourished among them ; nor were they negligent of rhetoric and poetry. Many persons now living have heard aged men talk with
30 regret of the golden days, when the Afghan princes ruled in the vale of Rohilcund.

Sujah Dowlah had set his heart on adding this rich district to his own principality. Right, or show

of right, he had absolutely none. His claim was in no respect better founded than that of Catherine to Poland, or that of the Bonaparte family to Spain. The Rohillas held their country by exactly the same title by which he held his, and had governed their country far better than his had ever been governed. Nor were they a people whom it was perfectly safe to attack. Their land was indeed an open plain, destitute of natural defences ; but their veins were full of the high blood of Afghanistan. As soldiers, they had not the steadiness which is seldom found except in company with strict discipline ; but their impetuous valour had been proved on many fields of battle. It was said that their chiefs, when united by common peril, could bring eighty thousand men into the field. Sujah Dowlah had himself seen them fight, and wisely shrank from a conflict with them. There was in India one army, and only one, against which even those proud Caucasian tribes could not stand. It had been abundantly proved that neither tenfold odds, nor the martial ardour of the boldest Asiatic nations, could avail aught against English science and resolution. Was it possible to induce the Governor of Bengal to let out to hire the irresistible energies of the imperial people, the skill against which the ablest chiefs of Hindostan were helpless as infants, the discipline which had so often triumphed over the frantic struggles of fanaticism and despair, the unconquerable British courage which is never so sedate and stubborn as towards the close of a doubtful and murderous day ?

This was what the Nabob Vizier asked, and what Hastings granted. A bargain was soon struck.

Each of the negotiators had what the other wanted. Hastings was in need of funds to carry on the government of Bengal, and to send remittances to London ; and Sujah Dowlah had an ample revenue. Sujah
5 Dowlah was bent on subjugating the Rohillas ; and Hastings had at his disposal the only force by which the Rohillas could be subjugated. It was agreed that an English army should be lent to the Nabob Vizier, and that, for the loan, he should pay four hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides defraying all
10 the charge of the troops while employed in his service.

‘I really cannot see,’ says Mr. Gleig, ‘upon what grounds, either of political or moral justice, this proposition deserves to be stigmatised as infamous.’ If
15 we understand the meaning of words, it is infamous to commit a wicked action for hire, and it is wicked to engage in war without provocation. In this particular war, scarcely one aggravating circumstance was wanting. The object of the Rohilla war was
20 this, to deprive a large population, who had never done us the least harm, of a good government, and to place them, against their will, under an execrably bad one. Nay, even this is not all. England now descended far below the level even of those petty
25 German princes who, about the same time, sold us troops to fight the Americans. The hussar-mongers of Hesse and Anspach had at least the assurance that the expeditions on which their soldiers were to be employed, would be conducted in conformity with the
30 humane rules of civilised warfare. Was the Rohilla war likely to be so conducted ? Did the Governor stipulate that it should be so conducted ? He well *knew* what Indian warfare was. He well knew that

the power which he covenanted to put into Sujah Dowlah's hands would, in all probability, be atrociously abused ; and he required no guarantee, no promise that it should not be so abused. He did not even reserve to himself the right of withdrawing 5 his aid in case of abuse, however gross. We are almost ashamed to notice Major Scott's plea, that Hastings was justified in letting out English troops to slaughter the Rohillas, because the Rohillas were not of Indian race, but a colony from a distant 10 country. What were the English themselves? Was it for them to proclaim a crusade for the expulsion of all intruders from the countries watered by the Ganges? Did it lie in their mouths to contend that a foreign settler who establishes an empire in India 15 is a *caput lupinum*? What would they have said if any other power had, on such a ground, attacked Madras or Calcutta without the slightest provocation? Such a defence was wanting to make the infamy of the transaction complete. The atrocity of the crime, 20 and the hypocrisy of the apology, are worthy of each other.

CHAPTER IX.

ROHILCUND PILLAGED AND WASTED.

ONE of the three brigades of which the Bengal army consisted was sent under Colonel Champion to join Sujah Dowlah's forces. The Rohillas expostu- 25 lated, entreated, offered a large ransom, but in vain. They then resolved to defend themselves to the last.

A bloody battle was fought. 'The enemy,' says Colonel Champion, 'gave proof of a good share of military knowledge ; and it is impossible to describe a more obstinate firmness of resolution than they
5 displayed.' The dastardly sovereign of Oude fled from the field. The English were left unsupported ; but their fire and their charge were irresistible. It was not, however, till the most distinguished chiefs had fallen, fighting bravely at the head of their
10 troops, that the Rohilla ranks gave way. Then the Nabob Vizier and his rabble made their appearance, and hastened to plunder the camp of the valiant enemies, whom they had never dared to look in the face. The soldiers of the Company, trained in an
15 exact discipline, kept unbroken order, while the tents were pillaged by these worthless allies. But many voices were heard to exclaim, 'We have had all the fighting, and those rogues are to have all the profit.'

Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on
20 the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcund. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine, and fever, and the haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of him to whom an English
25 and a Christian Government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance, and their blood, and the honour of their wives and daughters. Colonel Champion remonstrated with the Nabob Vizier, and sent strong representations to Fort William ; but the Governor
30 had made no conditions as to the mode in which the war was to be carried on. He had troubled himself about nothing but his forty lacs ; and, though he *might disapprove* of Sujah Dowlah's wanton bar-

barity, he did not think himself entitled to interfere, except by offering advice. This delicacy excites the admiration of the biographer. 'Mr. Hastings,' he says, 'could not himself dictate to the Nabob, nor permit the commander of the Company's troops to dictate how the war was to be carried on.' No, to be sure. Mr. Hastings had only to put down by main force the brave struggles of innocent men fighting for their liberty. Their military resistance crushed, his duties ended ; and he had then only to fold his arms and look on, while their villages were burned, their children butchered, and their women violated. Will Mr. Gleig seriously maintain this opinion ? Is any rule more plain than this, that whoever voluntarily gives to another irresistible power over human beings, is bound to take order that such power shall not be barbarously abused ? But we beg pardon of our readers for arguing a point so clear.

We hasten to the end of this sad and disgraceful story. The war ceased. The finest population in India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions. Yet is the injured nation not extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth ; and even at this day, valour, and self-respect, and a chivalrous feeling rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race. To this day they are regarded as the best of all sepoys at the cold steel ; and it was very recently

remarked by one who had enjoyed great opportunities of observation, that the only natives of India to whom the word 'gentleman' can with perfect propriety be applied are to be found among the
5 Rohillas.

Whatever we may think of the morality of Hastings, it cannot be denied that the financial results of his policy did honour to his talents. In less than two years after he assumed the government, he had,
10 without imposing any additional burdens on the people subject to his authority, added about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds to the annual income of the Company, besides procuring about a million in ready money. He had also relieved the
15 finances of Bengal from military expenditure, amounting to near a quarter of a million a year, and had thrown that charge on the Nabob of Oude. There can be no doubt that this was a result which, if it had been obtained by honest means, would have en-
20 titled him to the warmest gratitude of his country ; and which, by whatever means obtained, proved that he possessed great talents for administration.

In the meantime, Parliament had been engaged in long and grave discussions on Asiatic affairs. The
25 ministry of Lord North, in the session of 1773, introduced a measure which made a considerable change in the constitution of the Indian government. This law, known by the name of the Regulating Act, provided that the presidency of Bengal should exer-
30 cise a control over the other possessions of the Company ; that the chief of that presidency should be styled Governor-General ; that he should be assisted by four Councillors ; and that a supreme court of

judicature, consisting of a Chief Justice and three inferior judges, should be established at Calcutta. This court was made independent of the Governor-General and Council, and was intrusted with a civil and criminal jurisdiction of immense and, at the same 5 time, of undefined extent.

The Governor-General and Councillors were named in the Act, and were to hold their situations for five years. Hastings was to be the first Governor-General. One of the four new Councillors, Mr. Bar- 10 well, an experienced servant of the Company, was then in India; the other three, General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis, were sent out from England.

CHAPTER X.

PHILIP FRANCIS, COUNCILLOR OF INDIA; WAS HE
THE AUTHOR OF JUNIUS'S LETTERS?

THE ablest of the new Councillors was, beyond all 15 doubt, Philip Francis. His acknowledged compositions proved that he possessed considerable eloquence and information. Several years passed in the public offices had formed him to habits of business. His enemies have never denied that he had a fearless 20 and manly spirit; and his friends, we are afraid, must acknowledge that his estimate of himself was extravagantly high, that his temper was irritable, that his deportment was often rude and petulant, and that his hatred was of intense bitterness and long 25 duration.

It is scarcely possible to mention this eminent man without adverting for a moment to the question which his name at once suggests to every mind. Was he the author of the Letters of Junius? Our own firm belief is that he was? The evidence is, we think, such as would support a verdict in a civil, nay, in a criminal proceeding. The handwriting of Junius is the very peculiar handwriting of Francis, slightly disguised. As to the position, pursuits, and connections of Junius, the following are the most important facts which can be considered as clearly proved, first, that he was acquainted with the technical forms of the Secretary of State's office; secondly, that he was intimately acquainted with the business of the War Office; thirdly, that he, during the year 1770, attended debates in the House of Lords, and took notes of speeches, particularly of the speeches of Lord Chatham; fourthly, that he bitterly resented the appointment of Mr. Chamier to the place of Deputy Secretary at War; fifthly, that he was bound by some strong tie to the first Lord Holland. Now, Francis passed some years in the Secretary of State's office. He was subsequently chief clerk of the War Office. He repeatedly mentioned that he had himself, in 1770, heard speeches of Lord Chatham; and some of these speeches were actually printed from his notes. He resigned his clerkship at the War Office from resentment at the appointment of Mr. Chamier. It was by Lord Holland that he was first introduced into the public service. Now, here are five marks, all of which ought to be found in Junius. They are all five found in Francis. We do not believe that *more than two* of them can be found in any other

person whatever. If this argument does not settle the question, there is an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence.

The internal evidence seems to us to point the same way. The style of Francis bears a strong resemblance to that of Junius; nor are we disposed to admit, what is generally taken for granted, that the acknowledged compositions of Francis are very decidedly inferior to the anonymous letters. The argument from inferiority, at all events, is one which may be urged with at least equal force against every claimant that has ever been mentioned, with the single exception of Burke; and it would be a waste of time to prove that Burke was not Junius. And what conclusion, after all, can be drawn from mere inferiority? Every writer must produce his best work; and the interval between his best work and his second-best work may be very wide indeed. Nobody will say that the best letters of Junius are more decidedly superior to the acknowledged works of Francis than three or four of Corneille's tragedies to the rest, than three or four of Ben Jonson's comedies to the rest, than the *Pilgrim's Progress* to the other works of Bunyan, than *Don Quixote* to the other works of Cervantes. Nay, it is certain that Junius, whoever he may have been, was a most unequal writer. To go no further than the letters which bear the signature of Junius; the letter to the king and the letters to Horne Tooke have little in common, except the asperity; and asperity was an ingredient seldom wanting either in the writings or in the speeches of Francis.

Indeed, one of the strongest reasons for believing

that Francis was Junius is the moral resemblance between the two men. It is not difficult, from the letters which, under various signatures, are known to have been written by Junius, and from his dealings
5 with Woodfall and others, to form a tolerably correct notion of his character. He was clearly a man not destitute of real patriotism and magnanimity, a man whose vices were not of a sordid kind. But he must also have been a man in the highest degree arrogant
10 and insolent, a man prone to malevolence, and prone to the error of mistaking his malevolence for public virtue. 'Doest thou well to be angry?' was the question asked in old time of the Hebrew prophet; and he answered, 'I do well.' This was evidently the
15 temper of Junius; and to this cause we attribute the savage cruelty which disgraces several of his letters. No man is so merciless as he who, under a strong self-delusion, confounds his antipathies with his duties. It may be added that Junius, though allied
20 with the democratic party by common enmities, was the very opposite of a very democratic politician. While attacking individuals with a ferocity which perpetually violated all the laws of literary warfare, he regarded the most defective parts of old institu-
25 tions with a respect amounting to pedantry, pleaded the cause of Old Sarum with fervour, and contemptuously told the capitalists of Manchester and Leeds that, if they wanted votes, they might buy land and become freeholders of Lancashire and Yorkshire.
30 All this, we believe, might stand, with scarcely any change, for a character of Philip Francis.

It is not strange that the great anonymous writer *should have been* willing at that time to leave the

country which had been so powerfully stirred by his eloquence. Everything had gone against him. That party which he clearly preferred to every other, the party of George Grenville, had been scattered by the death of its chief; and Lord Suffolk had led the greater part of it over to the ministerial benches. The ferment produced by the Middlesex election had gone down. Every faction must have been alike an object of aversion to Junius. His opinions on domestic affairs separated him from the Ministry; 10 his opinions on colonial affairs from the Opposition. Under such circumstances he had thrown down his pen in misanthropical despair. His farewell letter to Woodfall bears date January 19, 1773. In that letter he declared that he must be an idiot to write again; 15 that he had meant well by the cause and the public; that both were given up; that there were not ten men who would act steadily together on any question. 'But it is all alike,' he added, 'vile and contemptible. You have never flinched that I know of; and I shall 20 always rejoice to hear of your prosperity.' These were the last words of Junius. In a year from that time, Philip Francis was on his voyage to Bengal.

CHAPTER XI.

HASTINGS HARD PRESSED BY HIS ENEMIES.

WITH the three new Councillors came out the judges of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice was 25 Sir Elijah Impey. He was an old acquaintance of

Hastings, and it is probable that the Governor-General, if he had searched through all the inns of court, could not have found an equally serviceable tool. But the members of Council were by no means in an obsequious mood. Hastings greatly disliked the new form of government, and had no very high opinion of his coadjutors. They had heard of this, and were disposed to be suspicious and punctilious. When men are in such a frame of mind, any trifle is sufficient to give occasion for dispute. The members of Council expected a salute of twenty-one guns from the batteries of Fort William ; Hastings allowed them only seventeen. They landed in ill-humour. The first civilities were exchanged with cold reserve. On the morrow commenced that long quarrel which, after distracting British India, was renewed in England, and in which all the most eminent statesmen and orators of the age took active part on one or the other side.

Hastings was supported by Barwell. They had not always been friends ; but the arrival of the new members of Council from England naturally had the effect of uniting the old servants of the Company. Clavering, Monson, and Francis formed the majority. They instantly wrested the government out of the hands of Hastings, condemned, certainly not without justice, his late dealings with the Nabob Vizier, recalled the English agent from Oude, and sent thither a creature of their own ; ordered the brigade which had conquered the unhappy Rohillas to return to the Company's territories, and instituted a severe inquiry into the conduct of the war. Next, in spite of the Governor-General's remonstrances, they proceeded to

exercise, in the most indiscreet manner, their new authority over the subordinate presidencies ; threw all the affairs of Bombay into confusion ; and interfered, with an incredible union of rashness and feebleness, in the intestine disputes of the Mahratta 5 government. At the same time, they fell on the internal administration of Bengal, and attacked the whole fiscal and judicial system, a system which was undoubtedly defective, but which it was very improbable that gentlemen fresh from England would be 10 competent to amend. The effect of their reforms was that all protection to life and property was withdrawn, and that gangs of robbers plundered and slaughtered with impunity in the very suburbs of Calcutta. Hastings continued to live in the Govern- 15 ment house, and to draw the salary of Governor-General. He continued even to take the lead at the Council board in the transaction of ordinary business ; for his opponents could not but feel that he knew much of which they were ignorant, and that he 20 decided, both surely and speedily, many questions which to them would have been hopelessly puzzling. But the higher powers of government and the most valuable patronage had been taken from him.

The natives soon found this out. They considered 25 him as a fallen man ; and they acted after their kind. Some of our readers may have seen, in India, a cloud of crows pecking a sick vulture to death, no bad type of what happens in that country as often as fortune deserts one who has been great and dreaded. In an 30 instant, all the sycophants who had lately been ready to lie for him, to forge for him, to pander for him, to poison for him, hasten to purchase the favour of his

victorious enemies by accusing him. An Indian Government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined ; and, in twenty-four hours, it will be furnished with grave charges, supported by depositions so full and circumstantial, that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive. It is well if the signature of the destined victim is not counterfeited at the foot of some illegal compact, and if some treasonable paper is not slipped into a hiding-place in his house. Hastings was now regarded as helpless. The power to make or mar the fortune of every man in Bengal had passed, as it seemed, into the hands of the new Councillors. Immediately charges against the Governor-General began to pour in. They were eagerly welcomed by the majority, who, to do them justice, were men of too much honour knowingly to countenance false accusations, but who were not sufficiently acquainted with the East to be aware that, in that part of the world, a very little encouragement from power will call forth, in a week, more Oateses, and Bedloes, and Dangerfields, than Westminster Hall sees in a century.

It would have been strange indeed if, at such a juncture, Nuncomar had remained quiet. That bad man was stimulated at once by malignity, by avarice, and by ambition. Now was the time to be avenged on his old enemy, to wreak a grudge of seventeen years, to establish himself in the favour of the majority of the Council, to become the greatest native in Bengal. From the time of the arrival of the new Councillors, he had paid the most marked court to *them*, and had in consequence been excluded, with all

indignity, from the Government house. He now put into the hands of Francis, with great ceremony, a paper containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document Hastings was accused of putting offices up to sale, and of receiving bribes 5 for suffering offenders to escape. In particular, it was alleged that Mahommed Reza Khan had been dismissed with impunity, in consideration of a great sum paid to the Governor-General.

Francis read the paper in Council. A violent 10 altercation followed. Hastings complained in bitter terms of the way in which he was treated, spoke with contempt of Nuncomar and of Nuncomar's accusation, and denied the right of the Council to sit in judgment on the Governor. At the next meeting of 15 the board another communication from Nuncomar was produced. He requested that he might be permitted to attend the Council, and that he might be heard in support of his assertions. Another tempestuous debate took place. The Governor-General 20 maintained that the council room was not a proper place for such an investigation ; that from persons who were heated by daily conflict with him he could not expect the fairness of judges ; and that he could not, without betraying the dignity of his post, sub- 25 mit to be confronted with such a man as Nuncomar. The majority, however, resolved to go into the charges. Hastings rose, declared the sitting at an end, and left the room, followed by Barwell. The other members kept their seats, voted themselves a 30 council, put Clavering in the chair, and ordered Nuncomar to be called in. Nuncomar not only adhered to the original charges, but, after the fashion of the

East, produced a large supplement. He stated that Hastings had received a great sum for appointing Rajah Goordas treasurer of the Nabob's household, and for committing the care of his Highness's person
5 to the Munny Begum. He put in a letter purporting to bear the seal of the Munny Begum, for the purpose of establishing the truth of his story. The seal, whether forged, as Hastings affirmed, or genuine, as we are rather inclined to believe, proved nothing.
10 Nuncomar, as everybody knows who knows India, had only to tell the Munny Begum that such a letter would give pleasure to the majority of the Council, in order to procure her attestation. The majority, however, voted that the charge was made out ; that
15 Hastings had corruptly received between thirty and forty thousand pounds ; and that he ought to be compelled to refund.

The general feeling among the English in Bengal was strongly in favour of the Governor-General. In
20 talents for business, in knowledge of the country, in general courtesy of demeanour, he was decidedly superior to his persecutors. The servants of the Company were naturally disposed to side with the most distinguished member of their own body against
25 a clerk from the War Office, who, profoundly ignorant of the native languages and of the native character, took on himself to regulate every department of the administration. Hastings, however, in spite of the general sympathy of his countrymen, was in a most
30 painful situation. There was still an appeal to higher authority in England. If that authority took part with his enemies, nothing was left to him but to throw
up his office. He accordingly placed his resignation

in the hands of his agent in London, Colonel Maclean. But Maclean was instructed not to produce the resignation, unless it should be fully ascertained that the feeling at the India House was adverse to the Governor-General.

5

The triumph of Nuncomar seemed to be complete. He held a daily levée, to which his countrymen resorted in crowds, and to which, on one occasion, the majority of the Council condescended to repair. His house was an office for the purpose of receiving 10 charges against the Governor-General. It was said that, partly by threats, and partly by wheedling, the villainous Brahmin had induced many of the wealthiest men of the province to send in complaints. But he was playing a perilous game. It was not safe to drive 15 to despair a man of such resources and of such determination as Hastings. Nuncomar, with all his acuteness, did not understand the nature of the institutions under which he lived. He saw that he had with him the majority of the body which made treaties, gave 20 places, raised taxes. The separation between political and judicial functions was a thing of which he had no conception. It had probably never occurred to him that there was in Bengal an authority perfectly independent of the Council, an authority which could 25 protect one whom the Council wished to destroy, and send to the gibbet one whom the Council wished to protect. Yet such was the fact. The Supreme Court was, within the sphere of its own duties, altogether independent of the Government. Hastings, with his 30 usual sagacity, had seen how much advantage he might derive from possessing himself of this stronghold; and he had acted accordingly. The judges,

especially the Chief Justice, were hostile to the majority of the Council. The time had now come for putting this formidable machinery into action.

On a sudden, Calcutta was astounded by the news
5 that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and thrown into the common gaol. The crime imputed to him was that six years before he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native ; but it was then, and still is, the opinion of
10 everybody, idiots and biographers excepted, that Hastings was the real mover in the business.

The rage of the majority rose to the highest point. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and sent several urgent messages to the judges,
15 demanding that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail. The judges returned haughty and resolute answers. All that the Council could do was to heap honours and emoluments on the family of Nuncomar ; and this they did. In the meantime the assizes
20 commenced ; a true bill was found ; and Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury composed of Englishmen. A great quantity of contradictory swearing, and the necessity of having every word of the evidence interpreted, protracted the trial
25 to a most unusual length. At last a verdict of guilty was returned, and the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

CHAPTER XII.

DEATH OF NUNCOMAR.

THAT Impey ought to have respited Nuncomar we hold to be perfectly clear. Whether the whole proceeding was not illegal, is a question. But it is certain that, whatever may have been, according to 5 technical rules of construction, the effect of the statute under which the trial took place, it was most unjust to hang a Hindoo for forgery. The law which made forgery capital in England was passed without the smallest reference to the state of society in India. It 10 was unknown to the natives of India. It had never been put in execution among them, certainly not for want of delinquents. It was in the highest degree shocking to all their notions. They were not accustomed to the distinction which many circumstances, 15 peculiar to our own state of society, have led us to make between forgery and other kinds of cheating. The counterfeiting of a seal was, in their estimation, a common act of swindling ; nor had it ever crossed their minds that it was to be punished as severely as 20 gang-robbery or assassination. A just judge would, beyond all doubt, have reserved the case for the consideration of the sovereign. But Impey would not hear of mercy or delay.

The excitement among all classes was great. 25 Francis and Francis's few English adherents described the Governor-General and the Chief Justice as the worst of murderers. Clavering, it was said, swore that, even at the foot of the gallows, Nuncomar should

be rescued. The bulk of the European society, though strongly attached to the Governor-General, could not but feel compassion for a man who, with all his crimes, had so long filled so large a space in their
5 sight, who had been great and powerful before the British empire in India began to exist, and to whom, in the old times, Governors and members of Council, then mere commercial factors, had paid court for protection. The feeling of the Hindoos was infinitely
10 stronger. They were, indeed, not a people to strike one blow for their countryman; but his sentence filled them with sorrow and dismay. Tried even by their low standard of morality, he was a bad man. But, bad as he was, he was the head of their race and
15 religion, a Brahmin of the Brahmins. He had inherited the purest and highest caste. He had practised with the greatest punctuality all those ceremonies to which the superstitious Bengalees ascribe far more importance than to the correct discharge of the social
20 duties. They felt, therefore, as a devout Catholic in the dark ages would have felt at seeing a prelate of the highest dignity sent to the gallows by a secular tribunal. According to their old national laws, a Brahmin could not be put to death for any crime
25 whatever; and the crime for which Nuncomar was about to die, was regarded by them in much the same light in which the selling of an unsound horse for a sound price is regarded by a Yorkshire jockey.

The Mussulmans alone appear to have seen with
30 exultation the fate of the powerful Hindoo, who had attempted to rise by means of the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan. The Mahommedan historian of those *times takes delight in aggravating the charge.* He

assures us that in Nuncomar's house a casket was found, containing counterfeits of the seals of all the richest men of the province. We have never fallen in with any other authority for this story, which in itself is by no means improbable. 5

The day drew near, and Nuncomar prepared himself to die, with that quiet fortitude with which the Bengalee, so effeminately timid in personal conflict, often encounters calamities for which there is no remedy. The sheriff, with the humanity which is seldom wanting in an English gentleman, visited the prisoner on the eve of the execution, and assured him that no indulgence, consistent with the law, should be refused to him. Nuncomar expressed his gratitude with great politeness and unaltered composure. Not 15 a muscle of his face moved ; not a sigh broke from him. He put his finger to his forehead, and calmly said that fate would have its way, and that there was no resisting the pleasure of God. He sent his compliments to Francis, Clavering, and Monson, and 20 charged them to protect Rajah Goordas, who was about to become the head of the Brahmins of Bengal. The sheriff withdrew, greatly agitated by what had passed, and Nuncomar sat composedly down to write notes and examine accounts. 25

The next morning, before the sun was in his power, an immense concourse assembled round the place where the gallows had been set up. Grief and horror were on every face ; yet to the last the multitude could hardly believe that the English really proposed to take the life of the great Brahmin. At length the mournful procession came through the crowd. Nuncomar sat up in his palanquin, and

looked round him with unaltered serenity. He had just parted from those who were most nearly connected with him. Their cries and contortions had appalled the European ministers of justice, but had not produced the smallest effect on the iron stoicism of the prisoner. The only anxiety which he expressed was that men of his own priestly caste might be in attendance to take charge of his corpse. He again desired to be remembered to his friends in the Council, mounted the scaffold with firmness, and gave the signal to the executioner. The moment that the drop fell, a howl of sorrow and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds turned away their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings towards the Hoogley, and plunged into its holy waters, as if to purify themselves from the guilt of having looked on such a crime. These feelings were not confined to Calcutta. The whole province was greatly excited ; and the population of Dacca, in particular, gave strong signs of grief and dismay.

Of Impey's conduct it is impossible to speak too severely. We have already said that, in our opinion, he acted unjustly in refusing to respite Nuncomar. No rational man can doubt that he took this course in order to gratify the Governor-General. If we had ever had any doubts on that point, they would have been dispelled by a letter which Mr. Gleig has published. Hastings, three or four years later, described Impey as the man 'to whose support he was at one time indebted for the safety of his fortune, honour, and reputation.' These strong words can refer only to the case of Nuncomar ; and they must mean that *Impey* hanged Nuncomar in order to support Hast-

ings. It is, therefore, our deliberate opinion that Impey, sitting as a judge, put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose.

But we look on the conduct of Hastings in a somewhat different light. He was struggling for 5 fortune, honour, liberty, all that makes life valuable. He was beset by rancorous and unprincipled enemies. From his colleagues he could expect no justice. He cannot be blamed for wishing to crush his accusers. He was, indeed, bound to use only legitimate means 10 for that end. But it was not strange that he should have thought any means legitimate which were pronounced legitimate by the sages of the law, by men whose peculiar duty it was to deal justly between adversaries, and whose education might be supposed 15 to have peculiarly qualified them for the discharge of that duty. Nobody demands from a party the unbending equity of a judge. The reason that judges are appointed is, that even a good man cannot be trusted to decide a cause in which he is himself con- 20 cerned. Not a day passes on which an honest prosecutor does not ask for what none but a dishonest tribunal would grant. It is too much to expect that any man, when his dearest interests are at stake, and his strongest passions excited, will, as against himself, 25 be more just than the sworn dispensers of justice. To take an analogous case from the history of our own island: suppose that Lord Stafford, when in the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in the Popish plot, had been apprised that Titus Oates had 30 done something which might, by a questionable construction, be brought under the head of felony. Should we severely blame Lord Stafford, in the sup-

posed case, for causing a prosecution to be instituted, for furnishing funds, for using all his influence to intercept the mercy of the Crown? We think not. If a judge, indeed, from favour to the Catholic lords, 5 were to strain the law in order to hang Oates, such a judge would richly deserve impeachment. But it does not appear to us that the Catholic lord, by bringing the case before the judge for decision, would materially overstep the limits of a just self-defence.

10 While, therefore, we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings, we doubt whether it can with justice be reckoned among his crimes. That his conduct was dictated by a profound policy is evident. He was in 15 a minority in Council. It was possible that he might long be in a minority. He knew the native character well. He knew in what abundance accusations are certain to flow in, against the most innocent inhabitant of India who is under the frown of power. There 20 was not in the whole black population of Bengal a place-holder, a place-hunter, a Government tenant, who did not think that he might better himself by sending up a deposition against the Governor-General. Under these circumstances, the persecuted statesman 25 resolved to teach the whole crew of accusers and witnesses that, though in a minority at the Council board, he was still to be feared. The lesson which he gave them was indeed a lesson not to be forgotten. The head of the combination which had been formed 30 against him, the richest, the most powerful, the most artful of the Hindoos, distinguished by the favour of those who then held the government, fenced round *by the superstitious reverence of millions, was hanged*

in broad day before many thousands of people. Everything that could make the warning impressive—dignity in the sufferer, solemnity in the proceeding—was found in this case. The helpless rage and vain struggles of the Council made the triumph more 5 signal. From that moment the conviction of every native was that it was safer to take the part of Hastings in a minority than that of Francis in a majority ; and that he who was so venturous as to join in running down the Governor-General, might chance, 10 in the phrase of the Eastern poet, to find a tiger while beating the jungle for a deer. The voices of a thousand informers were silenced in an instant. From that time, whatever difficulties Hastings might have to encounter, he was never molested by accusations 15 from natives of India.

It is a remarkable circumstance that one of the letters of Hastings to Dr. Johnson bears date a very few hours after the death of Nuncomar. While the whole settlement was in commotion, while a mighty 20 and ancient priesthood were weeping over the remains of their chief, the conqueror in that deadly grapple sat down, with characteristic self-possession, to write about the Tour to the Hebrides, Jones's Persian Grammar, and the history, traditions, arts, 25 and natural productions of India.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DIRECTORS IN LONDON CONDEMN HASTINGS.

IN the meantime, intelligence of the Rohilla war, and of the first disputes between Hastings and his colleagues, had reached London. The Directors took part with the majority, and sent out a letter
5 filled with severe reflections on the conduct of Hastings. They condemned, in strong but just terms, the iniquity of undertaking offensive wars merely for the sake of pecuniary advantage. But they utterly forgot that, if Hastings had by illicit means obtained pecu-
10 niary advantages, he had done so, not for his own benefit, but in order to meet their demands. To enjoin honesty, and to insist on having what could not be honestly got, was then the constant practice of the Company. As Lady Macbeth says of her
15 husband, they 'would not play false, and yet would wrongly win.'

The Regulating Act, by which Hastings had been appointed Governor-General for five years, empowered the Crown to remove him on an address
20 from the Company. Lord North was desirous to procure such an address. The three members of Council who had been sent out from England were men of his own choice. General Clavering, in particular, was supported by a large Parliamentary con-
25 nection, such as no Cabinet could be inclined to disoblige. The wish of the minister was to displace Hastings, and to put Clavering at the head of the *government*. In the Court of Directors, parties were

very nearly balanced. Eleven voted against Hastings, ten for him. The Court of Proprietors was then convened. The great sale-room presented a singular appearance. Letters had been sent by the Secretary of the Treasury, exhorting all the supporters of Government who held India stock to be in attendance. Lord Sandwich marshalled the friends of the Administration with his usual dexterity and alertness. Fifty peers and privy councillors, seldom seen so far eastward, were counted in the crowd. 10 The debate lasted till midnight. The opponents of Hastings had a small superiority on the division ; but a ballot was demanded ; and the result was that the Governor-General triumphed by a majority of above a hundred votes over the combined efforts of the 15 Directors and the Cabinet. The ministers were greatly exasperated by this defeat. Even Lord North lost his temper, no ordinary occurrence with him, and threatened to convoke Parliament before Christmas, and to bring in a bill for depriving the Company 20 of all political power, and for restricting it to its old business of trading in silks and teas.

Colonel Maclean, who, through all this conflict, had zealously supported the cause of Hastings, now thought that his employer was in imminent danger 25 of being turned out, branded with Parliamentary censure, perhaps prosecuted. The opinion of the crown lawyers had already been taken respecting some parts of the Governor-General's conduct. It seemed to be high time to think of securing an 30 honourable retreat. Under these circumstances, Maclean thought himself justified in producing the resignation with which he had been intrusted. The

instrument was not in very accurate form ; but the Directors were too eager to be scrupulous. They accepted the resignation, fixed on Mr. Wheler, one of their own body, to succeed Hastings, and sent out 5 orders that General Clavering, as senior member of Council, should exercise the functions of Governor-General till Mr. Wheler should arrive.

But, while these things were passing in England, a great change had taken place in Bengal. Monson 10 was no more. Only four members of the Government were left. Clavering and Francis were on one side, Barwell and the Governor-General on the other ; and the Governor-General had the casting vote. Hastings, who had been during two years destitute 15 of all power and patronage, became at once absolute. He instantly proceeded to retaliate on his adversaries. Their measures were reversed ; their creatures were displaced. A new valuation of the lands of Bengal, for the purposes of taxation, was ordered ; and it 20 was provided that the whole inquiry should be conducted by the Governor-General, and that all the letters relating to it should run in his name. He began, at the same time, to revolve vast plans of conquest and dominion, plans which he lived to see 25 realised, though not by himself. His project was to form subsidiary alliances with the native princes, particularly with those of Oude and Berar, and thus to make Britain the paramount power in India. While he was meditating these great designs, arrived the in- 30 telligence that he had ceased to be Governor-General, that his resignation had been accepted, that Wheler was coming out immediately, and that, till Wheler *arrived, the chair was to be filled by Clavering.*

Had Hastings still been in a minority, he would probably have retired without a struggle, but he was now the real master of British India, and he was not disposed to quit his high place. He asserted that he had never given any instructions which could warrant the steps taken at home. What his instructions had been, he owned he had forgotten. If he had kept a copy of them, he had mislaid it. But he was certain that he had repeatedly declared to the Directors that he would not resign. He could not see how the court, possessed of that declaration from himself, could receive his resignation from the doubtful hands of an agent. If the resignation were invalid, all the proceedings which were founded on that resignation were null, and Hastings was still Governor-General. 15

He afterwards affirmed that, though his agents had not acted in conformity with his instructions, he would nevertheless have held himself bound by their acts, if Clavering had not attempted to seize the supreme power by violence. Whether this assertion were or were not true, it cannot be doubted that the imprudence of Clavering gave Hastings an advantage. The General sent for the keys of the fort and of the treasury, took possession of the records, and held a council, at which Francis attended. Hastings took the chair in another apartment, and Barwell sat with him. Each of the two parties had a plausible show of right. There was no authority entitled to their obedience within fifteen thousand miles. It seemed that there remained no way of settling the dispute except an appeal to arms ; and from such an appeal Hastings, confident of his influence over his countrymen in India, was not inclined to shrink. He directed 30

the officers of the garrison at Fort William and all the neighbouring stations to obey no orders but his. At the same time, with admirable judgment, he offered to submit the case to the Supreme Court, and
5 to abide by its decision. By making this proposition he risked nothing; yet it was a proposition which his opponents could hardly reject. Nobody could be treated as a criminal for obeying what the judges should solemnly pronounce to be the lawful govern-
10 ment. The boldest man would shrink from taking arms in defence of what the judges should pronounce to be usurpation. Clavering and Francis, after some delay, unwillingly consented to abide by the award of the Court. The Court pronounced that the resig-
15 nation was invalid, and that therefore Hastings was still Governor-General under the Regulating Act; and the defeated members of the Council, finding that the sense of the whole settlement was against them, acquiesced in the decision.

20 About this time arrived the news that, after a suit which had lasted several years, the Franconian courts had decreed a divorce between Imhoff and his wife. The Baron left Calcutta, carrying with him the means of buying an estate in Saxony. The lady became
25 Mrs. Hastings. The event was celebrated by great festivities; and all the most conspicuous persons at Calcutta, without distinction of parties, were invited to the Government house. Clavering, as the Mahomedan chronicler tells the story, was sick in mind
30 and body, and excused himself from joining the splendid assembly. But Hastings, whom, as it should seem, success in ambition and in love had put into *high good-humour*, would take no denial. He went

himself to the General's house, and at length brought his vanquished rival in triumph to the gay circle which surrounded the bride. The exertion was too much for a frame broken by mortification as well as by disease. Clavering died a few days later. 5

Wheler, who came out expecting to be Governor-General, and was forced to content himself with a seat at the Council-board, generally voted with Francis ; but the Governor-General, with Barwell's help and his own casting vote, was still the master. Some 10 change took place at this time in the feeling both of the Court of Directors, and of the Ministers of the Crown. All designs against Hastings were dropped, and, when his original term of five years expired, he was quietly reappointed. The truth is, that the fear- 15 ful dangers to which the public interests in every quarter were now exposed, made both Lord North and the Company unwilling to part with a Governor whose talents, experience and resolution, enmity itself was compelled to acknowledge. 20

CHAPTER XIV.

SIR EYRE COOTE.

THE crisis was indeed formidable. That great and victorious empire, on the throne of which George the Third had taken his seat eighteen years before, with brighter hopes than had attended the accession of any of the long line of English sovereigns, had, by 25 the most senseless misgovernment, been brought to

the verge of ruin. In America, millions of Englishmen were at war with the country from which their blood, their language, their religion, and their institutions were derived, and to which, but a short time
5 before, they had been as strongly attached as the inhabitants of Norfolk and Leicestershire. The great powers of Europe, humbled to the dust by the vigour and genius which had guided the councils of George the Second, now rejoiced in the prospect of a signal
10 revenge. The time was approaching when our island, while struggling to keep down the United States of America, and pressed with a still nearer danger by the too just discontents of Ireland, was to be assailed by France, Spain, and Holland, and to be threatened
15 by the armed neutrality of the Baltic ; when even our maritime supremacy was to be in jeopardy ; when hostile fleets were to command the Straits of Calpe and the Mexican Sea ; when the British flag was to be scarcely able to protect the British Channel.
20 Great as were the faults of Hastings, it was happy for our country that at that conjuncture, the most terrible through which she has ever passed, he was the ruler of her Indian dominions.

An attack by sea on Bengal was little to be apprehended. The danger was that the European enemies
25 of England might form an alliance with some native power, might furnish that power with troops, arms, and ammunition, and might thus assail our possessions on the side of the land. It was chiefly from
30 the Mahrattas that Hastings anticipated danger. The original seat of that singular people was the wild range of hills which runs along the western coast of *India*. In the reign of Aurungzebe the inhabitants

of those regions, led by the great Sevajee, began to descend on the possessions of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. The energy, ferocity, and cunning of the Mahrattas soon made them the most conspicuous among the new powers which were generated by the corruption of the decaying monarchy. At first they were only robbers. They soon rose to the dignity of conquerors. Half the provinces of the empire were turned into Mahratta principalities. Freebooters, sprung from low castes, and accustomed to menial employments, became mighty rajahs. The Bonslas, at the head of a band of plunderers, occupied the vast region of Berar. The Guicowar, which is, being interpreted, the Herdsman, founded that dynasty which still reigns in Guzerat. The houses of Scindia and Holkar waxed great in Malwa. One adventurous captain made his nest on the impregnable rock of Gooti. Another became the lord of the thousand villages which are scattered among the green rice-fields of Tanjore.

That was the time, throughout India, of double government. The form and the power were everywhere separated. The Mussulman nabobs who had become sovereign princes, the Vizier in Oude, and the Nizam at Hyderabad, still called themselves the viceroys of the house of Tamerlane. In the same manner the Mahratta States, though really independent of each other, pretended to be members of one empire. They all acknowledged, by words and ceremonies, the supremacy of the heir of Sevajee, a *roi fainéant* who chewed bang and toyed with dancing girls in a State prison at Sattara, and of his Peshwa, or mayor of the palace, a great hereditary magistrate,

who kept a court with kingly state at Poonah, and whose authority was obeyed in the spacious provinces of Aurungabad and Bejapoor.

Some months before war was declared in Europe
5 the Government of Bengal was alarmed by the news that a French adventurer, who passed for a man of quality, had arrived at Poonah. It was said that he had been received there with great distinction, that he had delivered to the Peshwa letters and presents
10 from Lewis the Sixteenth, and that a treaty, hostile to England, had been concluded between France and the Mahrattas.

Hastings immediately resolved to strike the first blow. The title of the Peshwa was not undisputed.
15 A portion of the Mahratta nation was favourable to a pretender. The Governor-General determined to espouse this pretender's interest, to move an army across the peninsula of India, and to form a close alliance with the chief of the house of Bonsla, who
20 ruled Berar, and who, in power and dignity, was inferior to none of the Mahratta princes.

The army had marched, and the negotiations with Berar were in progress, when a letter from the English consul at Cairo brought the news that war had been
25 proclaimed both in London and Paris. All the measures which the crisis required were adopted by Hastings without a moment's delay. The French factories in Bengal were seized. Orders were sent to Madras that Pondicherry should instantly be occu-
30 pied. Near Calcutta, works were thrown up which were thought to render the approach of a hostile force impossible. A maritime establishment was
formed for the defence of the river. Nine new bat-

talions of sepoys were raised, and a corps of native artillery was formed out of the hardy Lascars of the Bay of Bengal. Having made these arrangements, the Governor-General, with calm confidence, pronounced his presidency secure from all attack, unless 5 the Mahrattas should march against it in conjunction with the French.

The expedition which Hastings had sent westward was not so speedily or completely successful as most of his undertakings. The commanding officer 10 procrastinated. The authorities at Bombay blundered. But the Governor-General persevered. A new commander repaired the errors of his predecessor. Several brilliant actions spread the military renown of the English through regions where no European flag 15 had ever been seen. It is probable that, if a new and formidable danger had not compelled Hastings to change his whole policy, his plans respecting the Mahratta empire would have been carried into complete effect. 20

The authorities in England had wisely sent out to Bengal, as commander of the forces and member of the Council, one of the most distinguished soldiers of that time. Sir Eyre Coote had, many years before, been conspicuous among the founders of the British 25 empire in the East. At the council of war which preceded the battle of Plassey, he earnestly recommended, in opposition to the majority, that daring course which, after some hesitation, was adopted, and which was crowned with such splendid success. He 30 subsequently commanded in the south of India against the brave and unfortunate Lally, gained the decisive battle of Wandewash over the French and their native

allies, took Pondicherry, and made the English power supreme in the Carnatic. Since those great exploits near twenty years had elapsed. Coote had no longer the bodily activity which he had shown in earlier
5 days, nor was the vigour of his mind altogether unimpaired. He was capricious and fretful, and required much coaxing to keep him in good humour. It must, we fear, be added that the love of money had grown upon him, and that he thought more about his allow-
10 ances, and less about his duties, than might have been expected from so eminent a member of so noble a profession. Still he was perhaps the ablest officer that was then to be found in the British army. Among the native soldiers his name was great and
15 his influence unrivalled. Nor is he yet forgotten by them. Now and then a white-bearded old sepoy may still be found who loves to talk of Porto Novo and Pollilore. It is but a short time since one of those aged men came to present a memorial to an
20 English officer, who holds one of the highest employments in India. A print of Coote hung in the room. The veteran recognised at once that face and figure which he had not seen for more than half a century, and, forgetting his salam to the living, halted, drew
25 himself up, lifted his hand, and with solemn reverence paid his military obeisance to the dead.

Coote, though he did not, like Barwell, vote constantly with the Governor-General, was by no means inclined to join in systematic opposition, and on most
30 questions concurred with Hastings, who did his best, by assiduous courtship, and by readily granting the most exorbitant allowances, to gratify the strongest *passions of the old soldier.*

It seemed likely at this time that a general reconciliation would put an end to the quarrels which had during some years weakened and disgraced the Government of Bengal. The dangers of the empire might well induce men of patriotic feeling—and of 5 patriotic feeling neither Hastings nor Francis was destitute—to forget private enmities, and to co-operate heartily for the general good. Coote had never been concerned in faction; Wheler was thoroughly tired of it. Barwell had made an ample 10 fortune, and, though he had promised that he would not leave Calcutta while his help was needed in Council, was most desirous to return to England, and exerted himself to promote an arrangement which would set him at liberty. 15

A compact was made, by which Francis agreed to desist from opposition, and Hastings engaged that the friends of Francis should be admitted to a fair share of the honours and emoluments of the service. During a few months after this treaty there was 20 apparent harmony at the Council board.

CHAPTER XV.

IMPEY'S REIGN OF TERROR.

HARMONY, indeed, was never more necessary, for at this moment internal calamities, more formidable than war itself, menaced Bengal. The authors of the Regulating Act of 1773 had established two indepen- 25 dent powers, the one judicial, the other political; and,

with a carelessness scandalously common in English legislation, had omitted to define the limits of either. The judges took advantage of the indistinctness, and attempted to draw to themselves supreme authority, 5 not only within Calcutta, but through the whole of the great territory subject to the Presidency of Fort William. There are few Englishmen who will not admit that the English law, in spite of modern improvements, is neither so cheap nor so speedy as 10 might be wished. Still, it is a system which has grown up among us. In some points it has been fashioned to suit our feelings; in others, it has gradually fashioned our feelings to suit itself. Even to its worst evils we are accustomed; and therefore, 15 though we may complain of them, they do not strike us with the horror and dismay which would be produced by a new grievance of smaller severity. In India the case is widely different. English law, transplanted to that country, has all the vices from which 20 we suffer here; it has them all in a far higher degree; and it has other vices, compared with which the worst vices from which we suffer are trifles. Dilatory here, it is far more dilatory in a land where the help of an interpreter is needed by every judge and by every 25 advocate. Costly here, it is far more costly in a land into which the legal practitioners must be imported from an immense distance. All English labour in India, from the labour of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, down to that of a groom or 30 a watchmaker, must be paid for at a higher rate than at home. No man will be banished, and banished to the torrid zone, for nothing. The rule holds good *with respect* to the legal profession. No English

barrister will work, fifteen thousand miles from all his friends, with the thermometer at ninety-six in the shade, for the emoluments which will content him in chambers that overlook the Thames. Accordingly, the fees at Calcutta are about three times as great as the fees of Westminster Hall ; and this, though the people of India are, beyond all comparison, poorer than the people of England. Yet the delay and the expense, grievous as they are, form the smallest part of the evil which English law, imported without modifications into India, could not fail to produce. The strongest feelings of our nature, honour, religion, female modesty, rose up against the innovation. Arrest on mesne process was the first step in most civil proceedings ; and to a native of rank arrest was not merely a restraint, but a foul personal indignity. Oaths were required in every stage of every suit ; and the feeling of a Quaker about an oath is hardly stronger than that of a respectable native. That the apartments of a woman of quality should be entered by strange men, or that her face should be seen by them, are, in the East, intolerable outrages, outrages which are more dreaded than death, and which can be expiated only by the shedding of blood. To these outrages the most distinguished families of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were now exposed. Imagine what the state of our own country would be, if a jurisprudence were on a sudden introduced among us, which should be to us what our jurisprudence was to our Asiatic subjects. Imagine what the state of our country would be, if it were enacted that any man, by merely swearing that a debt was due to him, should acquire a right to insult the persons of men

of the most honourable and sacred callings, and of women of the most shrinking delicacy ; to horsewhip a general officer, to put a bishop in the stocks, to treat ladies in the way which called forth the blow of Wat Tyler. Something like this was the effect of the attempt, which the Supreme Court made to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the Company's territory.

A reign of terror began, of terror heightened by
10 mystery ; for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected from this strange tribunal. It came from beyond the black water, as the people of India, with mysterious horror, call the
15 sea. It consisted of judges not one of whom was familiar with the usages of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown characters ; its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds. It had already collected round itself an army of the worst part of the
20 native population, informers, and false witnesses, and common barrators, and agents of chicane, and, above all, a banditti of bailiffs' followers, compared with whom the retainers of the worst English sponging-
25 houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives, highly considered among their countrymen, were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common gaol, not for any crime even imputed, not for any debt
30 that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage

and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey. The harems of noble Mahommedans, sanctuaries respected in the East by Governments which respected nothing else, were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver and less accustomed to 5 submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defence; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if even the faint-hearted 10 Bengalee, who had crouched at the feet of Surajah Dowlah, who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart, would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of 15 English lawyers. All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court.

Every class of the population, English and native, 20 with the exception of the ravenous pettifoggers who fattened on the misery and terror of an immense community, cried out loudly against this fearful oppression. But the judges were immovable. If a bailiff was resisted, they ordered the soldiers to be 25 called out. If a servant of the Company, in conformity with the orders of the Government, withstood the miserable catchpoles who, with Impey's writs in their hands, exceeded the insolence and rapacity of gang-robbers, he was flung into prison for a contempt. 30 The lapse of sixty years, the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates who have during that time administered justice in the Supreme Court, have

not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the recollection of those evil days.

The members of the Government were, on this subject, united as one man. Hastings had courted
5 the judges ; he had found them useful instruments ; but he was not disposed to make them his own masters, or the masters of India. His mind was large ; his knowledge of the native character most accurate. He saw that the system pursued by the
10 Supreme Court was degrading to the Government and ruinous to the people ; and he resolved to oppose it manfully. The consequence was, that the friendship, if that be the proper word for such a connection which had existed between him and Impey, was for
15 a time completely dissolved. The Government placed itself firmly between the tyrannical tribunal and the people. The Chief Justice proceeded to the wildest excesses. The Governor-General and all the members of Council were served with writs, calling on them
20 to appear before the King's justices, and to answer for their public acts. This was too much. Hastings, with just scorn, refused to obey the call, set at liberty the persons wrongfully detained by the Court, and took measures for resisting the outrageous proceed-
25 ings of the sheriffs' officers, if necessary, by the sword. But he had in view another device which might prevent the necessity of an appeal to arms. He was seldom at a loss for an expedient ; and he knew Impey well. The expedient, in this case, was
30 a very simple one, neither more nor less than a bribe. Impey was, by Act of Parliament, a judge, independent of the Government of Bengal, and entitled to a salary of eight thousand a year. Hastings pro-

posed to make him also a judge in the Company's service, removable at the pleasure of the Government of Bengal ; and to give him, in that capacity, about eight thousand a year more. It was understood that, in consideration of this new salary, Impey would 5 desist from urging the high pretensions of his court. If he did urge these pretensions, the Government could, at a moment's notice, eject him from the new place which had been created for him. The bargain was struck ; Bengal was saved ; an appeal to force 10 was averted ; and the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous.

Of Impey's conduct it is unnecessary to speak. It was of a piece with almost every part of his conduct that comes under the notice of history. No 15 other such judge has dishonoured the English ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the Tower. But we cannot agree with those who have blamed Hastings for this transaction. The case stood thus. The negligent manner in which the Regulating Act 20 had been framed, put it in the power of the Chief Justice to throw a great country into the most dreadful confusion. He was determined to use his power to the utmost, unless he was paid to be still ; and Hastings consented to pay him. The necessity was 25 to be deplored. It is also to be deplored that pirates should be able to exact ransom, by threatening to make their captives walk the plank. But to ransom a captive from pirates has always been held a humane and Christian act ; and it would be absurd to charge 30 the payer of the ransom with corrupting the virtue of the corsair. This, we seriously think, is a not unfair illustration of the relative position of Impey, Hast-

ings, and the people of India. Whether it was right in Impey to demand or to accept a price for powers which, if they really belonged to him, he could not abdicate, which, if they did not belong to him, he ought never to have usurped, and which in neither case he could honestly sell, is one question. It is quite another question whether Hastings was not right to give any sum, however large, to any man, however worthless, rather than either surrender
10 millions of human beings to pillage, or rescue them by civil war.

Francis strongly opposed this arrangement. It may, indeed, be suspected that personal aversion to Impey was as strong a motive with Francis as regard
15 for the welfare of the province. To a mind burning with resentment, it might seem better to leave Bengal to the oppressors than to redeem it by enriching them. It is not improbable, on the other hand, that Hastings may have been the more willing to resort
20 to an expedient agreeable to the Chief Justice, because that high functionary had already been so serviceable, and might, when existing dissensions were composed, be serviceable again.

But it was not on this point alone that Francis
25 was now opposed to Hastings. The peace between them proved to be only a short and hollow truce, during which their mutual aversion was constantly becoming stronger. At length an explosion took place. Hastings publicly charged Francis with
30 having deceived him, and with having induced Barwell to quit the service by insincere promises. Then came a dispute, such as frequently arises even between *honourable* men, when they may make important

agreements by mere verbal communication. An impartial historian will probably be of opinion that they had misunderstood each other ; but their minds were so much embittered that they imputed to each other nothing less than deliberate villainy. 'I do not,' said Hastings, in a minute recorded on the Consultations of the Government, 'I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour.' After the Council had risen, Francis put a challenge into the Governor-General's hand. It was instantly accepted. They met, and fired. Francis was shot through the body. He was carried to a neighbouring house, where it appeared that the wound, though severe, was not mortal. Hastings inquired repeatedly after his enemy's health, and proposed to call on him ; but Francis coldly declined the visit. He had a proper sense, he said, of the Governor-General's politeness, but could not consent to any private interview. They could meet only at the Council board.

CHAPTER XVI.

HYDER ALI VANQUISHED. MYSORE ANNEXED.

IN a very short time it was made signally manifest to how great a danger the Governor-General had, on this occasion, exposed his country. A crisis arrived with which he, and he alone, was competent to deal. It is not too much to say that, if he had been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781

would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America.

The Mahrattas had been the chief objects of apprehension to Hastings. The measures which he
5 had adopted for the purpose of breaking their power, had at first been frustrated by the errors of those whom he was compelled to employ ; but his perseverance and ability seemed likely to be crowned with success, when a far more formidable danger showed
10 itself in a distant quarter.

About thirty years before this time, a Mahomedan soldier had begun to distinguish himself in the wars of Southern India. His education had been neglected ; his extraction was humble. His father
15 had been a petty officer of revenue, his grandfather a wandering dervise. But though thus meanly descended, though ignorant even of the alphabet, the adventurer had no sooner been placed at the head of a body of troops than he approved himself a man
20 born for conquest and command. Among the crowd of chiefs who were struggling for a share of India, none could compare with him in the qualities of the captain and the statesman. He became a general ; he became a sovereign. Out of the fragments of old
25 principalities, which had gone to pieces in the general wreck, he formed for himself a great, compact, and vigorous empire. That empire he ruled with the ability, severity, and vigilance of Lewis the Eleventh. Licentious in his pleasures, implacable in his revenge,
30 he had yet enlargement of mind enough to perceive how much the prosperity of subjects adds to the strength of Governments. He was an oppressor ; *but he had* at least the merit of protecting his people

against all oppression except his own. He was now in extreme old age, but his intellect was as clear, and his spirit as high, as in the prime of manhood. Such was the great Hyder Ali, the founder of the Mahomedan kingdom of Mysore, and the most formidable enemy with whom the English conquerors of India have ever had to contend.

Had Hastings been Governor of Madras, Hyder would have been either made a friend, or vigorously encountered as an enemy. Unhappily the English authorities in the south provoked their powerful neighbour's hostility, without being able to repel it. On a sudden, an army of ninety thousand men, far superior in discipline and efficiency to any other native force that could be found in India, came pouring through those wild passes which, worn by mountain torrents, and dark with jungle, lead down from the table-land of Mysore to the plains of the Carnatic. This great army was accompanied by a hundred pieces of cannon, and its movements were guided by many French officers, trained in the best military schools of Europe.

Hyder was everywhere triumphant. The sepoy in many British garrisons flung down their arms. Some forts were surrendered by treachery, and some by despair. In a few days the whole open country north of the Coleroon had submitted. The English inhabitants of Madras could already see by night, from the top of Mount St. Thomas, the eastern sky reddened by a vast semicircle of blazing villages. The white villas, to which our countrymen retire after the daily labours of government and of trade, when the cool evening breeze springs up from the bay,

were now left without inhabitants ; for bands of the fierce horsemen of Mysore had already been seen prowling among the tulip-trees, and near the gay verandas. Even the town was not thought secure, 5 and the British merchants and public functionaries made haste to crowd themselves behind the cannon of Fort St. George.

There were the means, indeed, of assembling an army which might have defended the presidency, and 10 even driven the invader back to his mountains. Sir Hector Munro was at the head of one considerable force ; Baillie was advancing with another. United, they might have presented a formidable front even to such an enemy as Hyder. But the English com- 15 manders, neglecting those fundamental rules of the military art, of which the propriety is obvious even to men who have never received a military education, deferred their junction, and were separately attacked. Baillie's detachment was destroyed. Munro was 20 forced to abandon his baggage, to fling his guns into the tanks, and to save himself by a retreat which might be called a flight. In three weeks from the commencement of the war the British empire in Southern India had been brought to the verge of 25 ruin. Only a few fortified places remained to us. The glory of our arms had departed. It was known that a great French expedition might soon be expected on the coast of Coromandel. England, beset by enemies on every side, was in no condition to pro- 30 tect such remote dependencies.

Then it was that the fertile genius and serene courage of Hastings achieved their most signal *triumph*. A swift ship, flying before the south-west

monsoon, brought the evil tidings in a few days to Calcutta. In twenty-four hours the Governor-General had framed a complete plan of policy adapted to the altered state of affairs. The struggle with Hyder was a struggle for life and death. All minor objects must be sacrificed to the preservation of the Carnatic. The disputes with the Mahrattas must be accommodated. A large military force and a supply of money must be instantly sent to Madras. But even these measures would be insufficient, unless the war, hitherto so grossly mismanaged, were placed under the direction of a vigorous mind. It was no time for trifling. Hastings determined to resort to an extreme exercise of power, to suspend the incapable Governor of Fort St. George, to send Sir Eyre Coote to oppose Hyder, and to intrust that distinguished general with the whole administration of the war.

In spite of the sullen opposition of Francis, who had now recovered from his wound, and had returned to the Council, the Governor-General's wise and firm policy was approved by the majority of the board. The reinforcements were sent off with great expedition, and reached Madras before the French armament arrived in the Indian seas. Coote, broken by age and disease, was no longer the Coote of Wandewash ; but he was still a resolute and skilful commander. The progress of Hyder was arrested ; and in a few months the great victory of Porto Novo retrieved the honour of the English arms.

In the meantime Francis had returned to England, and Hastings was now left perfectly unfettered. Wheler had gradually been relaxing in his opposition, and, after the departure of his vehement and implac-

able colleague, co-operated heartily with the Governor-General, whose influence over the British in India, always great, had, by the vigour and success of his recent measures, been considerably increased.

5 But, though the difficulties arising from factions within the Council were at an end, another class of difficulties had become more pressing than ever. The financial embarrassment was extreme. Hastings had to find the means, not only of carrying on the
10 government of Bengal, but of maintaining a most costly war against both Indian and European enemies in the Carnatic, and of making remittances to England. A few years before this time he had obtained relief by plundering the Mogul and enslaving the
15 Rohillas ; nor were the resources of his fruitful mind by any means exhausted.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DOUBLE GOVERNMENTS IN INDIA.

HIS first design was on Benares, a city which in wealth, population, dignity, and sanctity, was among the foremost of Asia. It was commonly believed
20 that half a million of human beings was crowded into that labyrinth of lofty alleys, rich with shrines, and minarets, and balconies, and carved oriels, to which the sacred apes clung by hundreds. The traveller could scarcely make his way through the press of
25 holy mendicants and not less holy bulls. The broad and stately flights of steps, which descended from

these swarming haunts to the bathing-places along the Ganges, were worn every day by the footsteps of an innumerable multitude of worshippers. The schools and temples drew crowds of pious Hindoos from every province where the Brahminical faith was known. Hundreds of devotees came thither every month to die ; for it was believed that a peculiarly happy fate awaited the man who should pass from the sacred city into the sacred river. Nor was superstition the only motive which allured strangers to that great metropolis. Commerce had as many pilgrims as religion. All along the shores of the venerable stream lay great fleets of vessels laden with rich merchandise. From the looms of Benares went forth the most delicate silks that adorned the balls of St. James's and of Versailles ; and in the bazaars, the muslins of Bengal and the sabres of Oude were mingled with the jewels of Golconda and the shawls of Cashmere. This rich capital, and the surrounding tract, had long been under the immediate rule of a Hindoo prince, who rendered homage to the Mogul emperors. During the great anarchy of India, the lords of Benares became independent of the Court of Delhi, but were compelled to submit to the authority of the Nabob of Oude. Oppressed by this formidable neighbour, they invoked the protection of the English. The English protection was given ; and at length the Nabob Vizier, by a solemn treaty, ceded all his rights over Benares to the Company. From that time the Rajah was the vassal of the Government of Bengal, acknowledged its supremacy, and engaged to send an annual tribute to Fort William. This

tribute Cheyte Sing, the reigning prince, had paid with strict punctuality.

About the precise nature of the legal relation between the Company and the Rajah of Benares, 5 there has been much warm and acute controversy. On the one side, it has been maintained that Cheyte Sing was merely a great subject on whom the superior power had a right to call for aid in the necessities of the empire. On the other side, it has been contended 10 that he was an independent prince, that the only claim which the Company had upon him was for a fixed tribute, and that, while the fixed tribute was regularly paid, as it assuredly was, the English had no more right to exact any further contribution from 15 him than to demand subsidies from Holland or Denmark. Nothing is easier than to find precedents and analogies in favour of either view.

Our own impression is that neither view is correct. It was too much the habit of English politicians to 20 take it for granted that there was in India a known and definite constitution by which questions of this kind were to be decided. The truth is that, during the interval which elapsed between the fall of the house of Tamerlane and the establishment of the 25 British ascendancy, there was no such constitution. The old order of things had passed away ; the new order of things was not yet formed. All was transition, confusion, obscurity. Everybody kept his head as he best might, and scrambled for whatever he could 30 get.

Of the existing Governments not a single one could lay claim to legitimacy, or could plead any *ther* title than recent occupation. There was

scarcely a province in which the real sovereignty and the nominal sovereignty were not disjoined. Titles and forms were still retained which implied that the heir of Tamerlane was an absolute ruler, and that the Nabobs of the provinces were his lieutenants. In reality, he was a captive. The Nabobs were in some places independent princes ; in other places, as in Bengal and the Carnatic, they had, like their master, become mere phantoms, and the Company was supreme. Among the Mahrattas, again, the heir of Sevajee still kept the title of Rajah ; but he was a prisoner, and his prime minister, the Peshwa, had become the hereditary chief of the State. The Peshwa, in his turn, was fast sinking into the same degraded situation into which he had reduced the Rajah. It was, we believe, impossible to find, from the Himalayas to Mysore, a single Government which was at once a Government *de facto* and a Government *de jure*, which possessed the physical means of making itself feared by its neighbours and subjects, and which had at the same time the authority derived from law and long prescription.

Hastings clearly discerned what was hidden from most of his contemporaries, that such a state of things gave immense advantages to a ruler of great talents and few scruples. In every international question that could arise, he had his option between the *de facto* ground and the *de jure* ground ; and the probability was that one of those grounds would sustain any claim that it might be convenient for him to make, and enable him to resist any claim made by others. In every controversy, accordingly, he resorted to the plea which suited his immediate purpose, with-

out troubling himself in the least about consistency ; and thus he scarcely ever failed to find what, to persons of short memories and scanty information, seemed to be a justification for what he wanted to do. 5 Sometimes the Nabob of Bengal is a shadow, sometimes a monarch ; sometimes the Vizier is a mere deputy, sometimes an independent potentate. If it is expedient for the Company to show some legal title to the revenues of Bengal, the grant under the 10 seal of the Mogul is brought forward as an instrument of the highest authority. When the Mogul asks for the rents which were reserved to him by that very grant, he is told that he is a mere pageant, that the English power rests on a very different founda- 15 tion from a charter given by him ; that he is welcome to play at royalty as long as he likes, but that he must expect no tribute from the real masters of India.

It is true that it was in the power of others, as well as of Hastings, to practise this legerdemain ; but 20 in the controversies of Governments, sophistry is of little use unless it be backed by power. There is a principle which Hastings was fond of asserting in the strongest terms, and on which he acted with undeviating steadiness. It is a principle which, we 25 must own, though it may be grossly abused, can hardly be disputed in the present state of public law. It is this, that where an ambiguous question arises between two Governments, there is, if they cannot agree, no appeal except to force, and that the opinion 30 of the stronger must prevail. Almost every question was ambiguous in India. The English Government was the strongest in India. The consequences are *obvious*. The English Government might do exactly *what it chose*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHEYTE SING IS PLUNDERED, AND BENARES
ANNEXED.

THE English Government now chose to wring money out of Cheyte Sing. It had formerly been convenient to treat him as a sovereign prince, it was now convenient to treat him as a subject. Dexterity inferior to that of Hastings could easily find, in the general chaos of laws and customs, arguments for either course. Hastings wanted a great supply. It was known that Cheyte Sing had a large revenue, and it was suspected that he had accumulated a treasure. Nor was he a favourite at Calcutta. He had, when the Governor-General was in great difficulties, courted the favour of Francis and Clavering. Hastings, who, less perhaps from evil passions than from policy, seldom left an injury unpunished, was not sorry that the fate of Cheyte Sing should teach neighbouring princes the same lesson which the fate of Nuncomar had already impressed on the inhabitants of Bengal.

In 1778, on the first breaking out of the war with France, Cheyte Sing was called upon to pay, in addition to his fixed tribute, an extraordinary contribution of fifty thousand pounds. In 1779 an equal sum was exacted. In 1780 the demand was renewed. Cheyte Sing, in the hope of obtaining some indulgence, secretly offered the Governor-General a bribe of twenty thousand pounds. Hastings took the money, and his enemies have maintained that he

took it intending to keep it. He certainly concealed the transaction, for a time, both from the Council in Bengal and from the Directors at home, nor did he ever give any satisfactory reason for its concealment.

5 Public spirit, or the fear of detection, at last determined him to withstand the temptation. He paid over the bribe to the Company's treasury, and insisted that the Rajah should instantly comply with the demands of the English Government. The Rajah,

10 after the fashion of his countrymen, shuffled, solicited, and pleaded poverty. The grasp of Hastings was not to be so eluded. He added to the requisition another ten thousand pounds as a fine for delay, and sent troops to exact the money.

15 The money was paid. But this was not enough. The late events in the south of India had increased the financial embarrassments of the Company. Hastings was determined to plunder Cheyte Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly,

20 the Rajah was now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British Government. He objected and evaded. This was exactly what the Governor-General wanted. He had now a pretext for treating the wealthiest of his vassals as a criminal.

25 'I resolved'—these are the words of Hastings himself—'to draw from his guilt the means of relief of the Company's distresses, to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for past delinquency.' The plan was simply this, to demand

30 larger and larger contributions till the Rajah should be driven to remonstrate, then to call his remonstrance a crime, and to punish him by confiscating *all his possessions*.

Cheyte Sing was in the greatest dismay. He offered two hundred thousand pounds to propitiate the British Government. But Hastings replied that nothing less than half a million would be accepted ; nay, he began to think of selling Benares to Oude, as he had formerly sold Allahabad to Rohilcund. The matter was one which could not be well managed at a distance, and Hastings resolved to visit Benares.

Cheyte Sing received his liege lord with every mark of reverence, came near sixty miles, with his 10 guards, to meet and escort the illustrious visitor, and expressed his deep concern at the displeasure of the English. He even took off his turban and laid it in the lap of Hastings, a gesture which in India marks the most profound submission and devotion. 15 Hastings behaved with cold and repulsive severity. Having arrived at Benares, he sent to the Rajah a paper containing the demands of the Government of Bengal. The Rajah, in reply, attempted to clear himself from the accusations brought against him. 20 Hastings, who wanted money and not excuses, was not to be put off by the ordinary artifices of Eastern negotiation. He instantly ordered the Rajah to be arrested and placed under the custody of two companies of sepoy.

25

In taking these strong measures, Hastings scarcely showed his usual judgment. It is possible that, having had little opportunity of personally observing any part of the population of India, except the Bengalees, he was not fully aware of the difference 30 between their character and that of the tribes which inhabit the upper provinces. He was now in a land far more favourable to the vigour of the human frame

than the Delta of the Ganges ; in a land fruitful of soldiers, who have been found worthy to follow English battalions to the charge and into the breach. The Rajah was popular among his subjects. His administration had been mild, and the prosperity of the district which he governed presented a striking contrast to the depressed state of Bahar under our rule, and a still more striking contrast to the misery of the provinces which were cursed by the tyranny of the Nabob Vizier. The national and religious prejudices with which the English were regarded throughout India, were peculiarly intense in the metropolis of the Brahminical superstition. It can therefore scarcely be doubted that the Governor-General, before he outraged the dignity of Cheyte Sing by an arrest, ought to have assembled a force capable of bearing down all opposition. This had not been done. The handful of sepoy who attended Hastings would probably have been sufficient to overawe Moorshedabad, or the Black Town of Calcutta. But they were unequal to the conflict with the hardy rabble of Benares. The streets surrounding the palace were filled by an immense multitude, of whom a large proportion, as is usual in Upper India, wore arms. The tumult became a fight, and the fight a massacre. The English officers defended themselves with desperate courage against overwhelming numbers, and fell, as became them, sword in hand. The sepoy were butchered. The gates were forced. The captive prince, neglected by his gaolers during the confusion, discovered an outlet which opened on the precipitous bank of the Ganges, let himself down to the water by a string made of the turbans of his atten-

dants, found a boat, and escaped to the opposite shore.

If Hastings had, by indiscreet violence, brought himself into a difficult and perilous situation, it is only just to acknowledge that he extricated himself with 5 even more than his usual ability and presence of mind. He had only fifty men with him. The building in which he had taken up his residence was on every side blockaded by the insurgents. But his fortitude remained unshaken. The Rajah from the other 10 side of the river sent apologies and liberal offers. They were not even answered. Some subtle and enterprising men were found who undertook to pass through the throng of enemies, and to convey the intelligence of the late events to the English canton- 15 ments. It is the fashion of the natives of India to wear large earrings of gold. When they travel, the rings are laid aside, lest the precious metal should tempt some gang of robbers ; and, in place of the ring, a quill or a roll of paper is inserted in the orifice to 20 prevent it from closing. Hastings placed in the ears of his messengers letters rolled up in the smallest compass. Some of these letters were addressed to the commanders of English troops. One was written to assure his wife of his safety. One was to the 25 envoy whom he had sent to negotiate with the Mah-rattas. Instructions for the negotiation were needed ; and the Governor-General framed them in that situation of extreme danger, with as much composure as if he had been writing in his palace at Calcutta. 30

Things, however, were not yet at the worst. An English officer of more spirit than judgment, eager to distinguish himself, made a premature attack on the

insurgents beyond the river. His troops were entangled in narrow streets, and assailed by a furious population. He fell, with many of his men ; and the survivors were forced to retire.

- 5 This event produced the effect which has never failed to follow every check, however slight, sustained in India by the English arms. For hundreds of miles round, the whole country was in commotion. The entire population of the district of Benares took arms.
- 10 The fields were abandoned by the husbandmen, who thronged to defend their prince. The infection spread to Oude. The oppressed people of that province rose up against the Nabob Vizier, refused to pay their imposts, and put the revenue officers to flight.
- 15 Even Bahar was ripe for revolt. The hopes of Cheyte Sing began to rise. Instead of imploring mercy in the humble style of a vassal, he began to talk the language of a conqueror, and threatened, it was said, to sweep the white usurpers out of the land. But
- 20 the English troops were now assembling fast. The officers, and even the private men, regarded the Governor-General with enthusiastic attachment, and flew to his aid with an alacrity which, as he boasted, had never been shown on any other occasion. Major
- 25 Popham, a brave and skilful soldier, who had highly distinguished himself in the Mahratta war, and in whom the Governor-General reposed the greatest confidence, took the command. The tumultuary army of the Rajah was put to rout ; his fastnesses
- 30 were stormed. In a few hours above thirty thousand men left his standard, and returned to their ordinary avocations. The unhappy prince fled from his *country for ever*. His fair domain was added to the

British dominions. One of his relations indeed was appointed Rajah ; but the Rajah of Benares was henceforth to be, like the Nabob of Bengal, a mere pensioner.

By this revolution, an addition of two hundred 5 thousand pounds a year was made to the revenues of the Company. But the immediate relief was not as great as had been expected. The treasure laid up by Cheyte Sing had been popularly estimated at a million sterling. It turned out to be about a fourth 10 part of that sum ; and, such as it was, it was seized by the army, and divided as prize-money.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BEGUMS OR PRINCESSES OF OUDE ARE PLUNDERED.

DISAPPOINTED in his expectations from Benares, Hastings was more violent than he would otherwise have been in his dealings with Oude. Sujah Dowlah 15 had long been dead. His son and successor, Asaph-ul-Dowlah, was one of the weakest and most vicious even of Eastern princes. His life was divided between torpid repose and the most odious forms of sensuality. In his court there was boundless waste, 20 throughout his dominions wretchedness and disorder. He had been, under the skilful management of the English Government, gradually sinking from the rank of an independent prince to that of a vassal of the Company. It was only by the help of a British 25 brigade that he could be secured from the aggressions

of neighbours who despised his weakness, and from the vengeance of subjects who detested his tyranny. A brigade was furnished, and he engaged to defray the charge of paying and maintaining it. From that
5 time his independence was at an end. Hastings was not a man to lose the advantage which he had thus gained. The Nabob soon began to complain of the burden which he had undertaken to bear. His revenues, he said, were falling off; his servants were
10 unpaid; he could no longer support the expense of the arrangement which he had sanctioned. Hastings would not listen to these representations. The Vizier, he said, had invited the Government of Bengal to send him troops, and had promised to pay for
15 them. The troops had been sent. How long the troops were to remain in Oude was a matter not settled by the treaty. It remained, therefore, to be settled between the contracting parties. But the contracting parties differed. Who then must decide?
20 The stronger.

Hastings also argued that, if the English force was withdrawn, Oude would certainly become a prey to anarchy, and would probably be overrun by a Mahratta army. That the finances of Oude were
25 embarrassed, he admitted. But he contended, not without reason, that the embarrassment was to be attributed to the incapacity and vices of Asaph-ul-Dowlah himself, and that, if less were spent on the troops, the only effect would be that more would be
30 squandered on worthless favourites.

Hastings had intended, after settling the affairs of Benares, to visit Lucknow, and there to confer with *Asaph-ul-Dowlah*. But the obsequious courtesy of

the Nabob Vizier prevented this visit. With a small train he hastened to meet the Governor-General. An interview took place in the fortress which, from the crest of the precipitous rock of Chunar, looks down on the waters of the Ganges.

At first sight it might appear impossible that the negotiation should come to an amicable close. Hastings wanted an extraordinary supply of money ; Asaph-ul-Dowlah wanted to obtain a remission of what he already owed. Such a difference seemed to admit of no compromise. There was, however, one course satisfactory to both sides, one course by which it was possible to relieve the finances both of Oude and of Bengal ; and that course was adopted. It was simply this, that the Governor-General and the Nabob Vizier should join to rob a third party ; and the third party whom they determined to rob, was the parent of one of the robbers.

The mother of the late Nabob, and his wife, who was the mother of the present Nabob, were known as the Begums or Princesses of Oude. They had possessed great influence over Sujah Dowlah, and had, at his death, been left in possession of a splendid dotation. The domains of which they received the rents and administered the government were of wide extent. The treasure hoarded by the late Nabob, a treasure which was popularly estimated at near three millions sterling, was in their hands. They continued to occupy his favourite palace at Fyzabad, the Beautiful Dwelling ; while Asaph-ul-Dowlah held his court in the stately Lucknow, which he had built for himself on the shores of the Goomti, and had adorned with noble mosques and colleges.

Asaph-ul-Dowlah had already extorted considerable sums from his mother. She had at length appealed to the English ; and the English had interfered. A solemn compact had been made, by which
5 she consented to give her son some pecuniary assistance, and he in his turn promised never to commit any further invasion of her rights. This compact was formally guaranteed by the Government of Bengal. But times had changed ; money was wanted ;
10 and the power which had given the guarantee, was not ashamed to instigate the spoiler to excesses such that even he shrank from them.

It was necessary to find some pretext for a confiscation, inconsistent not merely with plighted faith,
15 not merely with the ordinary rules of humanity and justice, but also with that great law of filial piety which, even in the wildest tribes of savages, even in those more degraded communities which wither under the influence of a corrupt half-civilisation,
20 retains a certain authority over the human mind. A pretext was the last thing that Hastings was likely to want. The insurrection at Benares had produced disturbances in Oude. These disturbances it was convenient to impute to the Princesses. Evidence
25 for the imputation there was scarcely any ; unless reports wandering from one mouth to another, and gaining something by every transmission, may be called evidence. The accused were furnished with no charge ; they were permitted to make no defence ;
30 for the Governor-General wisely considered that, if he tried them, he might not be able to find a ground for plundering them. It was agreed between him and the Nabob Vizier that the noble ladies should,

by a sweeping act of confiscation, be stripped of their domains and treasures for the benefit of the Company, and that the sums thus obtained should be accepted by the Government of Bengal in satisfaction of its claims on the Government of Oude. 5

While Asaph-ul-Dowlah was at Chunar, he was completely subjugated by the clear and commanding intellect of the English statesman. But, when they had separated, the Vizier began to reflect with uneasiness on the engagements into which he had 10 entered. His mother and grandmother protested and implored. His heart, deeply corrupted by absolute power and licentious pleasures, yet not naturally unfeeling, failed him in this crisis. Even the English resident at Lucknow, though hitherto devoted to 15 Hastings, shrank from extreme measures. But the Governor-General was inexorable. He wrote to the resident in terms of the greatest severity, and declared that, if the spoliation which had been agreed upon were not instantly carried into effect, he would 20 himself go to Lucknow, and do that from which feebler minds recoil with dismay. The resident, thus menaced, waited on his Highness, and insisted that the treaty of Chunar should be carried into full and immediate effect. Asaph-ul-Dowlah yielded, making 25 at the same time a solemn protestation that he yielded to compulsion. The lands were resumed; but the treasure was not so easily obtained. It was necessary to use violence. A body of the Company's troops marched to Fyzabad, and forced the gates of 30 the palace. The Princesses were confined to their own apartments. But still they refused to submit. Some more stringent mode of coercion was to be found. A

mode was found, of which, even at this distance of time, we cannot speak without shame and sorrow.

There were at Fyzabad two venerable men, to whom Sujah Dowlah had given his entire confidence. 5 After his death they remained at the head of the household of his widow.

These men were, by the orders of the British Government, seized, imprisoned, ironed, starved almost to death, in order to extort money from the 10 Princesses. After they had been two months in confinement, their health gave way. They implored permission to take a little exercise in the garden of their prison. The officer who was in charge of them stated that, if they were allowed this indulgence, 15 there was not the smallest chance of their escaping, and that their irons really added nothing to the security of the custody in which they were kept. He did not understand the plan of his superiors. Their object in these inflictions was not security but torture; 20 and all mitigation was refused. Yet this was not the worst. It was resolved by an English Government that these two infirm old men should be delivered to the tormentors. For that purpose they were removed to Lucknow. What horrors their dungeon there witnessed can only be guessed. But there remains on 25 the records of Parliament, this letter, written by a British resident to a British soldier.

‘Sir, the Nabob having determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your 30 guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see *proper.*’

While these barbarities were perpetrated at Lucknow, the Princesses were still under duress at Fyzabad. Food was allowed to enter their apartments only in such scanty quantities that their female attendants were in danger of perishing with hunger. Month 5 after month this cruelty continued, till at length, after twelve hundred thousand pounds had been wrung out of the Princesses, Hastings began to think that he had really got to the bottom of their coffers, and that no rigour could extort more. Then at length the 10 wretched men who were detained at Lucknow regained their liberty. When their irons were knocked off, and the doors of their prison opened, their quivering lips, the tears which ran down their cheeks, and the thanksgivings which they poured forth to 15 the common Father of Mussulmans and Christians, melted even the stout hearts of the English warriors who stood by.

CHAPTER XX.

IMPEY DISGRACED.

BUT we must not forget to do justice to Sir Elijah Impey's conduct on this occasion. It was not indeed 20 easy for him to intrude himself into a business so entirely alien from all his official duties. But there was something inexpressibly alluring, we must suppose, in the peculiar rankness of the infamy which was then to be got at Lucknow. He hurried thither as 25 fast as relays of palanquin-bearers could carry him. A crowd of people came before him with affidavits

against the Begums, ready drawn in their hands. Those affidavits he did not read. Some of them, indeed, he could not read, for they were in the dialects of Northern India, and no interpreter was employed. 5 He administered the oath to the deponents with all possible expedition, and asked not a single question, not even whether they had perused the statements to which they swore. This work performed, he got again into his palanquin, and posted back to Calcutta, 10 to be in time for the opening of term. The cause was one which, by his own confession, lay altogether out of his jurisdiction. Under the charter of justice, he had no more right to inquire into crimes committed by Asiatics in Oude, than the Lord President 15 of the Court of Session of Scotland to hold an assize at Exeter. He had no right to try the Begums, nor did he pretend to try them. With what object, then, did he undertake so long a journey? Evidently in order that he might give, in an irregular manner, that 20 sanction which in a regular manner he could not give, to the crimes of those who had recently hired him; and in order that a confused mass of testimony which he did not sift, which he did not even read, might acquire an authority not properly belonging to it, from 25 the signature of the highest judicial functionary in India.

The time was approaching, however, when he was to be stripped of that robe which has never, since the Revolution, been disgraced so foully as by him. The 30 state of India had for some time occupied much of the attention of the British Parliament. Towards the close of the American war, two committees of the *Commons* sat on Eastern affairs. In one Edmund

Burke took the lead. The other was under the presidency of the able and versatile Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland. Great as are the changes which, during the last sixty years, have taken place in our Asiatic dominions, the reports 5 which those committees laid on the table of the House will still be found most interesting and instructive.

There was as yet no connection between the Company and either of the great parties in the State. The 10 ministers had no motive to defend Indian abuses. On the contrary, it was for their interest to show, if possible, that the government and patronage of our Oriental empire might, with advantage, be transferred to themselves. The votes, therefore, which, in con- 15 sequence of the reports made by the two committees, were passed by the Commons, breathed the spirit of stern and indignant justice. The severest epithets were applied to several of the measures of Hastings, especially to the Rohilla war ; and it was resolved, on 20 the motion of Mr. Dundas, that the Company ought to recall a Governor-General who had brought such calamities on the Indian people, and such dishonour on the British name. An Act was passed for limiting the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The bar- 25 gain which Hastings had made with the Chief Justice was condemned in the strongest terms ; and an address was presented to the king, praying that Impey might be summoned home to answer for his misdeeds. 30

Impey was recalled by a letter from the Secretary of State. But the proprietors of India Stock resolutely refused to dismiss Hastings from their service,

and passed a resolution affirming, what was undeniably true, that they were entrusted by law with the right of naming and removing their Governor-General, and that they were not bound to obey the directions
5 of a single branch of the Legislature with respect to such nomination or removal.

Thus supported by his employers, Hastings remained at the head of the Government of Bengal till the spring of 1785. His administration, so eventful
10 and stormy, closed in almost perfect quiet. In the Council there was no regular opposition to his measures. Peace was restored to India. The Mahratta war had ceased. Hyder was no more. A treaty had been concluded with his son Tippoo ; and the Carnatic had
15 been evacuated by the armies of Mysore. Since the termination of the American war, England had no European enemy or rival in the Eastern seas.

CHAPTER XXI.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE CHARACTER AND ABILITIES OF WARREN HASTINGS.

ON a general review of the long administration of Hastings, it is impossible to deny that, against the
20 great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. She still, indeed, maintained her place in the foremost rank of European powers ; and the manner in which she had defended *herself* against fearful odds had inspired surrounding

nations with a high opinion both of her spirit and of her strength. Nevertheless, in every part of the world, except one, she had been a loser. Not only had she been compelled to acknowledge the independence of thirteen colonies peopled by her children, 5 and to conciliate the Irish by giving up the right of legislating for them ; but, in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Africa, on the continent of America, she had been compelled to cede the fruits of her victories in former wars. Spain re- 10 gained Minorca and Florida ; France regained Senegal, Goree, and several West Indian Islands. The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost nothing, was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of 15 the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected ; the Nabob Vizier reduced to vassalage. That our influence had been thus extended, nay, that Fort 20 William and Fort St. George had not been occupied by hostile armies, was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.

His internal administration, with all its blemishes, 25 gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double Government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy, he educed at least a rude and imperfect order. The 30 whole organisation by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions

of Lewis the Sixteenth or of the Emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. He boasted that every public office, without exception, which existed when he left Bengal, was his creation. It is quite
5 true that this system, after all the improvements suggested by the experience of sixty years, still needs improvement, and that it was at first far more defective than it now is. But whoever seriously considers what it is to construct from the beginning the whole
10 of a machine so vast and complex as a Government, will allow that what Hastings effected deserves high admiration. To compare the most celebrated European ministers to him seems to us as unjust as it would be to compare the best baker in London
15 with Robinson Crusoe, who, before he could bake a single loaf, had to make his plough and his harrow, his fences and his scarecrows, his sickle and his flail, his mill and his oven.

The just fame of Hastings rises still higher, when
20 we reflect that he was not bred a statesman ; that he was sent from school to a counting-house ; and that he was employed during the prime of his manhood as a commercial agent, far from all intellectual society.

25 Nor must we forget that all, or almost all, to whom, when placed at the head of affairs, he could apply for assistance, were persons who owed as little as himself, or less than himself, to education. A minister in Europe finds himself, on the first day on
30 which he commences his functions, surrounded by experienced public servants, the depositaries of official traditions. Hastings had no such help. His own reflection, his own energy, were to supply the place of

all Downing Street and Somerset House. Having had no facilities for learning, he was forced to teach. He had first to form himself, and then to form his instruments ; and this not in a single department, but in all the departments of the Administration. 5

It must be added that, while engaged in this most arduous task, he was constantly trammelled by orders from home, and frequently borne down by a majority in Council. The preservation of an Empire from a formidable combination of foreign enemies, the construction of a Government in all its parts, were accomplished by him, while every ship brought out bales of censure from his employers, and while the records of every consultation were filled with acrimonious minutes by his colleagues. We believe that 15 there never was a public man whose temper was so severely tried ; not Marlborough, when thwarted by the Dutch deputies ; not Wellington, when he had to deal at once with the Portuguese Regency, the Spanish Juntas, and Mr. Perceval. But the temper of 20 Hastings was equal to almost any trial. It was not sweet, but it was calm. Quick and vigorous as his intellect was, the patience with which he endured the most cruel vexations, till a remedy could be found, resembled the patience of stupidity. He seems to 25 have been capable of resentment, bitter and long-enduring ; yet his resentment so seldom hurried him into any blunder, that it may be doubted whether what appeared to be revenge was anything but policy. 30

The effect of this singular equanimity was, that he always had the full command of all the resources of one of the most fertile minds that ever existed. Ac-

cordingly no complication of perils and embarrassments could perplex him. For every difficulty he had a contrivance ready ; and, whatever may be thought of the justice and humanity of some of his contrivances, it is certain that they seldom failed to serve the purpose for which they were designed.

Together with this extraordinary talent for devising expedients, Hastings possessed, in a very high degree, another talent scarcely less necessary to a man in his situation ; we mean the talent for conducting political controversy. It is as necessary to an English statesman in the East that he should be able to write, as it is to a minister in this country that he should be able to speak. It is chiefly by the oratory of a public man here that the nation judges of his powers. It is from the letters and reports of a public man in India that the dispensers of patronage form their estimate of him. In each case, the talent which receives peculiar encouragement is developed, perhaps at the expense of the other powers. In this country, we sometimes hear men speak above their abilities. It is not very unusual to find gentlemen in the Indian service who write above their abilities. The English politician is a little too much of a debater ; the Indian politician a little too much of an essayist.

Of all the numerous servants of the Company who have distinguished themselves as framers of minutes and despatches, Hastings stands at the head. He was indeed the person who gave to the official writing of the Indian Governments the character which it still retains. He was matched against no common antagonist. But even Francis was forced to acknowledge, with sullen and resentful candour, that

there was no contending against the pen of Hastings. And, in truth, the Governor-General's power of making out a case, of perplexing what it was inconvenient that people should understand, and of setting in the clearest point of view whatever would bear the light, 5 was incomparable. His style must be praised with some reservation. It was in general forcible, pure, and polished ; but it was sometimes, though not often, turgid, and, on one or two occasions, even bombastic. Perhaps the fondness of Hastings for 10 Persian literature may have tended to corrupt his taste.

And, since we have referred to his literary tastes, it would be most unjust not to praise the judicious encouragement which, as a ruler, he gave to liberal studies and curious researches. His patronage was 15 extended, with prudent generosity, to voyages, travels, experiments, publications. He did little, it is true, towards introducing into India the learning of the West. To make the young natives of Bengal familiar with Milton and Adam Smith, to substitute the geo- 20 graphy, astronomy, and surgery of Europe for the dotages of the Brahminical superstition, or for the imperfect science of ancient Greece transfused through Arabian expositions, this was a scheme reserved to crown the beneficent administration of a far more 25 virtuous ruler. Still it is impossible to refuse high commendation to a man who, taken from a ledger to govern an empire, overwhelmed by public business, surrounded by people as busy as himself, and separated by thousands of leagues from almost all literary 30 society, gave, both by his example and by his munificence, a great impulse to learning. In Persian and Arabic literature he was deeply skilled. With the

Sanscrit he was not himself acquainted ; but those who first brought that language to the knowledge of European students owed much to his encouragement. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society
5 commenced its honourable career. That distinguished body selected him to be its first president ; but, with excellent taste and feeling, he declined the honour in favour of Sir William Jones. But the chief advantage which the students of Oriental letters derived from
10 his patronage remains to be mentioned. The Pundits of Bengal had always looked with great jealousy on the attempts of foreigners to pry into those mysteries which were locked up in the sacred dialect. The Brahminical religion had been persecuted by the
15 Mahommedans. What the Hindoos knew of the spirit of the Portuguese Government might warrant them in apprehending persecution from Christians. That apprehension, the wisdom and moderation of Hastings removed. He was the first foreign ruler
20 who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India, and who induced them to lay open to English scholars the secrets of the old Brahminical theology and jurisprudence.

CHAPTER XXII.

HIS POPULARITY WITH THE NATIVES OF INDIA AS WELL AS WITH THE ENGLISH RESIDENTS.

It is indeed impossible to deny that, in the great
25 art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and attachment, no ruler ever surpassed

Hastings. If he had made himself popular with the English by giving up the Bengalees to extortion and oppression, or if, on the other hand, he had conciliated the Bengalees and alienated the English, there would have been no cause for wonder. What is peculiar to him is that, being the chief of a small band of strangers who exercised boundless power over a great indigenous population, he made himself beloved both by the subject many and by the dominant few. The affection felt for him by the civil service was singularly ardent and constant. Through all his disasters and perils, his brethren stood by him with steadfast loyalty. The army, at the same time, loved him as armies have seldom loved any but the greatest chiefs who have led them to victory. Even in his disputes with distinguished military men, he could always count on the support of the military profession. While such was his empire over the hearts of his countrymen, he enjoyed among the natives a popularity, such as other Governors have perhaps better merited, but such as no other Governor has been able to attain. He spoke their vernacular dialects with facility and precision. He was intimately acquainted with their feelings and usages. On one or two occasions, for great ends, he deliberately acted in defiance of their opinion; but on such occasions he gained more in their respect than he lost in their love. In general, he carefully avoided all that could shock their national or religious prejudices. His administration was indeed in many respects faulty; but the Bengalee standard of good government was not high. Under the Nabobs, the hurricane of Mahratta cavalry had passed annually

over the rich alluvial plain. But even the Mahratta shrank from a conflict with the mighty children of the sea ; and the immense rice harvests of the Lower Ganges were safely gathered in, under the protection
5 of the English sword. The first English conquerors had been more rapacious and merciless even than the Mahrattas ; but that generation had passed away. Defective as was the police, heavy as were the public burdens, it is probable that the oldest man in Bengal
10 could not recollect a season of equal security and prosperity. For the first time within living memory, the province was placed under a government strong enough to prevent others from robbing, and not inclined to play the robber itself. These things inspired
15 good-will. At the same time the constant success of Hastings and the manner in which he extricated himself from every difficulty made him an object of superstitious admiration ; and the more than regal splendour which he sometimes displayed dazzled a
20 people who have much in common with children. Even now, after the lapse of more than fifty years, natives of India still talk of him as the greatest of the English ; and nurses sing children to sleep with a jingling ballad about the fleet horses and richly
25 caparisoned elephants of Sahib Warren Hostein.

The gravest offence of which Hastings was guilty did not affect his popularity with the people of Bengal ; for those offences were committed against
neighbouring States. Those offences, as our readers
30 must have perceived, we are not disposed to vindicate ; yet, in order that the censure may be justly apportioned to the transgression, it is fit that the motive of the criminal should be taken into consideration. The

motive which prompted the worst acts of Hastings was misdirected and ill-regulated public spirit. The rules of justice, the sentiments of humanity, the plighted faith of treaties, were in his view as nothing, when opposed to the immediate interest of the State. 5 This is no justification, according to the principles either of morality or of what we believe to be identical with morality, namely, far-sighted policy. Nevertheless, the common sense of mankind, which in questions of this sort seldom goes far wrong, will 10 always recognise a distinction between crimes which originate in an inordinate zeal for the commonwealth, and crimes which originate in selfish cupidity. To the benefit of this distinction Hastings is fairly entitled. There is, we conceive, no reason to suspect 15 that the Rohilla war, the revolution of Benares, or the spoliation of the Princesses of Oude, added a rupee to his fortune. We will not affirm that, in all pecuniary dealings, he showed that punctilious integrity, that dread of the faintest appearance of evil, 20 which is now the glory of the Indian civil service. But when the school in which he had been trained and the temptations to which he was exposed are considered, we are more inclined to praise him for his general uprightness with respect to money, than 25 rigidly to blame him for a few transactions which would now be called indelicate and irregular, but which even now would hardly be designated as corrupt. A rapacious man he certainly was not. Had he been so, he would infallibly have returned to 30 his country the richest subject in Europe. We speak within compass when we say that, without applying any extraordinary pressure, he might easily have

obtained from the zemindars of the Company's provinces and from neighbouring princes, in the course of thirteen years, more than three millions sterling, and might have outshone the splendour of Carlton House and of the *Palais Royal*. He brought home a fortune such as a Governor-General, fond of state, and careless of thrift, might easily, during so long a tenure of office, save out of his legal salary. Mrs. Hastings, we are afraid, was less scrupulous. It was
10 generally believed that she accepted presents with great alacrity, and that she thus formed, without the connivance of her husband, a private hoard amounting to several lacs of rupees. We are the more inclined to give credit to this story, because Mr. Gleig,
15 who cannot but have heard it, does not, so far as we have observed, notice or contradict it.

The influence of Mrs. Hastings over her husband was indeed such, that she might easily have obtained much larger sums than she was ever accused of receiving. At length her health began to give way;
20 and the Governor-General, much against his will, was compelled to send her to England. He seems to have loved her with that love which is peculiar to men of strong minds, to men whose affection is not
25 easily won or widely diffused. The talk of Calcutta ran for some time on the luxurious manner in which he fitted up the round-house of an Indiaman for her accommodation, on the profusion of sandal-wood and carved ivory which adorned her cabin, and on
30 the thousands of rupees which had been expended in order to procure for her the society of an agreeable female companion during the voyage. We may remark here that the letters of Hastings to his wife

are exceedingly characteristic. They are tender, and full of indications of esteem and confidence ; but, at the same time, a little more ceremonious than is usual in so intimate a relation. The solemn courtesy with which he compliments 'his elegant Marian' 5 reminds us now and then of the dignified air with which Sir Charles Grandison bowed over Miss Byron's hand in the cedar parlour.

After some months, Hastings prepared to follow his wife to England. When it was announced that 10 he was about to quit his office, the feeling of the society which he had so long governed manifested itself by many signs. Addresses poured in from Europeans and Asiatics, from civil functionaries, soldiers, and traders. On the day on which he de- 15 livered up the keys of office, a crowd of friends and admirers formed a lane to the quay where he embarked. Several barges escorted him far down the river ; and some attached friends refused to quit him till the low coast of Bengal was fading from the view, 20 and till the pilot was leaving the ship.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RETURNS TO ENGLAND, AND IS THREATENED WITH PROSECUTION.

OF his voyage little is known, except that he amused himself with books and with his pen ; and that, among the compositions by which he beguiled the tediousness of that long leisure, was a pleasing imitation of 25

Horace's *Otium Divos rogat*. This little poem was inscribed to Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a man of whose integrity, humanity, and honour it is impossible to speak too highly, but who, like some
5 other excellent members of the civil service, extended to the conduct of his friend Hastings an indulgence of which his own conduct never stood in need.

The voyage was, for those times, very speedy. Hastings was little more than four months on the
10 sea. In June, 1785, he landed at Plymouth, posted to London, appeared at Court, paid his respects in Leadenhall Street, and then retired with his wife to Cheltenham.

He was greatly pleased with his reception. The
15 King treated him with marked distinction. The Queen, who had already incurred much censure on account of the favour which, in spite of the ordinary severity of her virtue, she had shown to the 'elegant Marian,' was not less gracious to Hastings. The
20 Directors received him in a solemn sitting; and their chairman read to him a vote of thanks which they had passed without one dissentient voice. 'I find myself,' said Hastings, in a letter written about a quarter of a year after his arrival in England, 'I find
25 myself everywhere, and universally, treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of my country.'

The confident and exulting tone of his correspondence about this time is the more remarkable,
30 because he had already received ample notice of the attack which was in preparation. Within a week after he had landed at Plymouth, Burke gave notice
in the House of Commons of a motion seriously

affecting a gentleman lately returned from India. The session, however, was then so far advanced, that it was impossible to enter on so extensive and important a subject.

Hastings, it is clear, was not sensible of the danger of his position. Indeed, that sagacity, that judgment, that readiness in devising expedients, which had distinguished him in the East seemed now to have forsaken him. Not that his abilities were at all impaired ; not that he was not still the same man who had triumphed over Francis and Nuncomar, who had made the Chief Justice and the Nabob Vizier his tools, who had deposed Cheyte Sing, and repelled Hyder Ali. But an oak, as Mr. Grattan finely said, should not be transplanted at fifty. A man who, having left England when a boy, returns to it after thirty or forty years passed in India, will find, be his talents what they may, that he has much both to learn and to unlearn before he can take a place among English statesmen. The working of a representative system, the war of parties, the arts of debate, the influence of the press, are startling novelties to him. Surrounded on every side by new machines and new tactics, he is as much bewildered as Hannibal would have been at Waterloo, or Themistocles at Trafalgar. His very acuteness deludes him. His very vigour causes him to stumble. The more correct his maxims, when applied to the state of society to which he is accustomed, the more certain they are to lead him astray. This was strikingly the case with Hastings. In India he had a bad hand ; but he was master of the game, and he won every stake. In England he held excellent cards if he had known

how to play them ; and it was chiefly by his own errors that he was brought to the verge of ruin.

Of all his errors the most serious was perhaps the choice of a champion. Clive, in similar circumstances, had made a singularly happy selection. He put himself into the hands of Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, one of the few great advocates who have also been great in the House of Commons. To the defence of Clive, therefore, nothing was wanting, neither learning nor knowledge of the world, neither forensic acuteness nor that eloquence which charms political assemblies. Hastings intrusted his interests to a very different person, a major in the Bengal army, named Scott. This gentleman had been sent over from India some time before as the agent of the Governor-General. It was rumoured that his services were rewarded with Oriental munificence ; and we believe that he received much more than Hastings could conveniently spare. The Major obtained a seat in Parliament, and was there regarded as the organ of his employer. It was evidently impossible that a gentleman so situated could speak with the authority which belongs to an independent position. Nor had the agent of Hastings the talents necessary for obtaining the ear of an assembly which, accustomed to listen to great orators, had naturally become fastidious. He was always on his legs ; he was very tedious ; and he had only one topic, the merits and wrongs of Hastings. Everybody who knows the House of Commons will easily guess what followed. The Major was soon considered as the greatest bore of his time. His exertions were not confined to Parliament. There was hardly a day on which the news-

papers did not contain some puff upon Hastings, signed *Asiaticus* or *Bengalensis*, but known to be written by the indefatigable Scott ; and hardly a month in which some bulky pamphlet on the same subject, and from the same pen, did not pass to the 5 trunkmakers and the pastrycooks. As to this gentleman's capacity for conducting a delicate question through Parliament, our readers will want no evidence beyond that which they will find in letters preserved in these volumes. We will give a single specimen of 10 his temper and judgment. He designated the greatest man then living as 'that reptile, Mr. Burke.'

In spite, however, of this unfortunate choice, the general aspect of affairs was favourable to Hastings. The King was on his side. The Company and its 15 servants were zealous in his cause. Among public men he had many ardent friends. Such were Lord Mansfield, who had outlived the vigour of his body, but not that of his mind ; and Lord Lansdowne, who, though unconnected with any party, retained the im- 20 portance which belongs to great talents and knowledge. The ministers were generally believed to be favourable to the late Governor-General. They owed their power to the clamour which had been raised against Mr. Fox's East India Bill. The authors of 25 that Bill, when accused of invading vested rights, and of setting up powers unknown to the constitution, had defended themselves by pointing to the crimes of Hastings, and by arguing that abuses so extraordinary justified extraordinary measures. Those who, by op- 30 posing that Bill, had raised themselves to the head of affairs, would naturally be inclined to extenuate the evils which had been made the plea for administering

so violent a remedy ; and such, in fact, was their general disposition. The Lord Chancellor Thurlow, in particular, whose great place and force of intellect gave him a weight in the Government inferior only to
5 that of Mr. Pitt, espoused the cause of Hastings with indecorous violence. Mr. Pitt, though he had censured many parts of the Indian system, had 'studiously abstained from saying a word against the late chief of the Indian Government. To Major Scott, indeed,
10 the young minister had in private extolled Hastings as a great, a wonderful man, who had the highest claims on the Government. There was only one objection to granting all that so eminent a servant of the public could ask. The resolution of censure still
15 remained on the journals of the House of Commons.

That resolution was, indeed, unjust ; but, till it was rescinded, could the minister advise the King to bestow any mark of approbation on the person censured ? If Major Scott is to be trusted, Mr. Pitt declared that
20 this was the only reason which prevented the advisers of the Crown from conferring a peerage on the late Governor-General. Mr. Dundas was the only important member of the Administration who was deeply committed to a different view of the subject. He had
25 moved the resolution which created the difficulty ; but even from him little was to be apprehended. Since he had presided over the committee on Eastern affairs, great changes had taken place. He was surrounded by new allies ; he had fixed his hopes on
30 new objects ; and whatever may have been his good qualities—and he had many—flattery itself never reckoned rigid consistency in the number.

From the Ministry, therefore, Hastings had every

reason to expect support ; and the Ministry was very powerful. The Opposition was loud and vehement against him. But the Opposition, though formidable from the wealth and influence of some of its members, and from the admirable talents and eloquence of 5 others, was out-numbered in Parliament, and odious throughout the country. Nor, as far as we can judge, was the Opposition generally desirous to engage in so serious an undertaking as the impeachment of an Indian Governor. Such an impeachment must last 10 for years. It must impose on the chiefs of the party an immense load of labour. Yet it could scarcely, in any manner, affect the event of the great political game. The followers of the Coalition were therefore more inclined to revile Hastings than to prosecute 15 him. They lost no opportunity of coupling his name with the names of the most hateful tyrants of whom history makes mention. The wits of Brooks's aimed their keenest sarcasms both at his public and at his domestic life. Some fine diamonds which he had 20 presented, as it was rumoured, to the royal family, and a certain richly carved ivory bed which the Queen had done him the honour to accept from him, were favourite subjects of ridicule. One lively poet proposed that the great acts of the fair Marian's pre- 25 sent husband should be immortalised by the pencil of his predecessor ; and that Imhoff should be employed to embellish the House of Commons with paintings of the bleeding Rohillas, of Nuncomar swinging, of Cheyte Sing letting himself down to the Ganges. 30 Another, in an exquisitely humorous parody of Virgil's third eclogue, propounded the question, what that mineral could be of which the rays had power to

make the most austere of princesses the friend of a wanton. A third described, with gay malevolence, the gorgeous appearance of Mrs. Hastings at St. James's; the galaxy of jewels, torn from Indian
5 Begums, which adorned her head-dress, her necklace gleaming with future votes, and the depending questions that shone upon her ears. Satirical attacks of this description, and perhaps a motion for a vote of
10 censure, would have satisfied the great body of the Opposition. But there were two men whose indignation was not to be so appeased,—Philip Francis and Edmund Burke.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARACTER OF EDMUND BURKE.

FRANCIS had recently entered the House of Commons, and had already established a character there for industry and ability. He laboured, indeed, under one
15 most unfortunate defect, want of fluency. But he occasionally expressed himself with a dignity and energy worthy of the greatest orators. Before he had been many days in Parliament he incurred the bitter
20 dislike of Pitt, who constantly treated him with as much asperity as the laws of debate would allow. Neither lapse of years nor change of scene had mitigated the enmities which Francis had brought back from the East. After his usual fashion, he mistook
25 his malevolence for virtue, nursed it, as preachers tell us that we ought to nurse our good dispositions, and paraded it on all occasions with Pharisaical ostentation.

The zeal of Burke was still fiercer ; but it was far purer. Men unable to understand the elevation of his mind have tried to find out some discreditable motive for the vehemence and pertinacity which he showed on this occasion. But they have altogether 5 failed. The idle story that he had some private slight to revenge has long been given up, even by the advocates of Hastings. Mr. Gleig supposes that Burke was actuated by party spirit, that he retained a bitter remembrance of the fall of the Coalition, that he 10 attributed that fall to the exertions of the East India interest, and that he considered Hastings as the head and the representative of that interest. This explanation seems to be sufficiently refuted by a reference to dates. The hostility of Burke 15 to Hastings commenced long before the Coalition ; and lasted long after Burke had become a strenuous supporter of those by whom the Coalition had been defeated. It began when Burke and Fox, closely allied together, were attacking the influence of the 20 Crown, and calling for peace with the American Republic. It continued till Burke, alienated from Fox, and loaded with the favours of the Crown, died, preaching a crusade against the French Republic. We surely cannot attribute to the events of 1784 an 25 enmity which began in 1781, and which retained undiminished force long after persons far more deeply implicated than Hastings in the events of 1784, had been cordially forgiven. And why should we look for any other explanation of Burke's conduct than 30 that which we find on the surface ? The plain truth is that Hastings had committed some great crimes, and that the thought of those crimes made the blood

of Burke boil in his veins. For Burke was a man in whom compassion for suffering, and hatred of injustice and tyranny, were as strong as in Las Casas or Clarkson. And although in him, as in Las Casas and 5 in Clarkson, these noble feelings were alloyed with the infirmity which belongs to human nature, he is, like them, entitled to this great praise, that he devoted years of intense labour to the service of a people with whom he had neither blood nor language, neither religion nor manners in common, and from whom no 10 requital, no thanks, no applause could be expected.

His knowledge of India was such as few, even of those Europeans who have passed many years in that country, have attained, and such as certainly was 15 never attained by any public man who had not quitted Europe. He had studied the history, the laws, and the usages of the East with an industry, such as is seldom found united to so much genius and so much sensibility. Others have perhaps been 20 equally laborious, and have collected an equal mass of materials. But the manner in which Burke brought his higher powers of intellect to work on statements of facts, and on tables of figures, was peculiar to himself. In every part of those huge bales of Indian 25 information which repelled almost all other readers, his mind, at once philosophical and poetical, found something to instruct or to delight. His reason analysed and digested those vast and shapeless masses; his imagination animated and coloured them. Out 30 of darkness and dulness, and confusion, he formed a multitude of ingenious theories and vivid pictures. He had, in the highest degree, that noble faculty *whereby* man is able to live in the past and in the

future, in the distant and in the unreal. India and its inhabitants were not to him, as to most Englishmen, mere names and abstractions, but a real country and a real people. The burning sun, the strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa tree, the rice 5 field, the tank, the huge trees, older than the Mogul empire, under which the village crowds assemble, the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, the rich tracery of the mosque where the imaum prays with his face to Mecca, the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols, the 10 devotee swinging in the air, the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river side, the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect, the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces, the elephants with their 15 canopies of state, the gorgeous palanquin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady ; all these things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed, as the objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield and St. James's Street. 20 All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns to the wild moor where the gipsy camp was pitched ; from the bazaar, humming like a beehive with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to 25 the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyænas. He had just as lively an idea of the insurrection at Benares as of Lord George Gordon's riots, and of the execution of Nuncomar as of the execution of Dr. Dodd. Oppres- 30 sion in Bengal was to him the same thing as oppression in the streets of London.

He saw that Hastings had been guilty of some

most unjustifiable acts. All that followed was natural and necessary in a mind like Burke's. His imagination and his passions, once excited, hurried him beyond the bounds of justice and good sense. His
5 reason, powerful as it was, became the slave of feelings which it should have controlled. His indignation, virtuous in its origin, acquired too much of the character of personal aversion. He could see no mitigating circumstance, no redeeming merit. His
10 temper, which, though generous and affectionate, had always been irritable, had now been made almost savage by bodily infirmities and mental vexations. Conscious of great powers and great virtues, he found himself, in age and poverty, a mark for the hatred of
15 a perfidious court and a deluded people. In Parliament his eloquence was out of date. A young generation, which knew him not, had filled the House. Whenever he rose to speak, his voice was drowned by the unseemly interruption of lads who were in
20 their cradles when his orations on the Stamp Act called forth the applause of the great Earl of Chatham. These things had produced on his proud and sensitive spirit an effect at which we cannot wonder. He could no longer discuss any question with calm-
25 ness, or make allowance for honest differences of opinion. Those who think that he was more violent and acrimonious in debates about India than on other occasions are ill-informed respecting the last years of his life. In the discussions on the Commercial Treaty
30 with the Court of Versailles, on the Regency, on the French Revolution, he showed even more virulence than in conducting the impeachment. Indeed, it may *be remarked* that the very persons who called him a

mischievous maniac, for condemning in burning words the Rohilla war and the spoliation of the Begums, exalted him into a prophet as soon as he began to declaim, with greater vehemence, and not with greater reason, against the taking of the Bastile and the insults offered to Marie Antoinette. To us he appears to have been neither a maniac in the former case, nor a prophet in the latter, but in both cases a great and good man, led into extravagance by a sensibility which domineered over all his faculties.

CHAPTER XXV.HASTINGS READS HIS DEFENCE AT THE BAR OF
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

IT may be doubted whether the personal antipathy of Francis, or the nobler indignation of Burke would have led their party to adopt extreme measures against Hastings, if his own conduct had been judicious. He should have felt that, great as his public services had been, he was not faultless, and should have been content to make his escape, without aspiring to the honours of a triumph. He and his agent took a different view. They were impatient for the rewards which, as they conceived, were deferred only till Burke's attack should be over. They accordingly resolved to force on a decisive action with an enemy for whom, if they had been wise, they would have made a bridge of gold. On the first day of the session of 1786, Major Scott reminded Burke of the notice given in the preceding year, and asked

whether it was seriously intended to bring any charge against the late Governor-General. This challenge left no course open to the Opposition, except to come forward as accusers, or to acknowledge themselves calumniators. The administration of Hastings had not been so blameless, nor was the great party of Fox and North so feeble that it could be prudent to venture on so bold a defiance. The leaders of the Opposition instantly returned the only answer which they could with honour return ; and the whole party was irrevocably pledged to a prosecution.

Burke began his operations by applying for papers. Some of the documents for which he asked were refused by the ministers, who, in the debate, held language such as strongly confirmed the prevailing opinion, that they intended to support Hastings. In April the charges were laid on the table. They had been drawn by Burke with great ability, though in a form too much resembling that of a pamphlet. Hastings was furnished with a copy of the accusation ; and it was intimated to him that he might, if he thought fit, be heard in his own defence at the bar of the Commons.

Here, again, Hastings was pursued by the same fatality which had attended him ever since the day when he set foot on English ground. It seemed to be decreed that this man, so politic and so successful in the East, should commit nothing but blunders in Europe. Any judicious adviser would have told him that the best thing which he could do would be to make an eloquent, forcible, and affecting oration at the bar of the House ; but that, if he could not trust *himself* to speak, and found it necessary to read, he

ought to be as concise as possible. Audiences accustomed to extemporaneous debating of the highest excellence, are always impatient of long written compositions. Hastings, however, sat down as he would have done at the Government house in Bengal, and prepared a paper of immense length. That paper, if recorded on the consultations of an Indian administration, would have been justly praised as a very able minute. But it was now out of place. It fell flat, as the best written defence must have fallen flat, on an assembly accustomed to the animated and strenuous conflicts of Pitt and Fox. The members, as soon as their curiosity about the face and demeanour of so eminent a stranger was satisfied, walked away to dinner, and left Hastings to tell his story till midnight to the clerks and the sergeant-at-arms.

All preliminary steps having been duly taken, Burke, in the beginning of June, brought forward the charge relating to the Rohilla war. He acted discreetly in placing this accusation in the van ; for Dundas had formerly moved, and the House had adopted, a resolution condemning, in the most severe terms, the policy followed by Hastings with regard to Rohilcund. Dundas had little, or rather nothing, to say in defence of his own consistency ; but he put a bold face on the matter, and opposed the motion. Among other things, he declared that, though he still thought the Rohilla war unjustifiable, he considered the services which Hastings had subsequently rendered to the State as sufficient to atone even for so great an offence. Pitt did not speak, but voted with Dundas ; and Hastings was absolved by a hundred and nineteen votes against sixty-seven.

Hastings was now confident of victory. It seemed, indeed, that he had reason to be so. The Rohilla war was, of all his measures, that which his accusers might with greatest advantage assail. It
5 had been condemned by the Court of Directors. It had been condemned by the House of Commons. It had been condemned by Mr. Dundas, who had since become the chief minister of the Crown for Indian affairs. Yet Burke, having chosen this strong
10 ground, had been completely defeated on it. That, having failed here, he should succeed on any point, was generally thought impossible. It was rumoured at the clubs and coffee-houses that one or perhaps two more charges would be brought forward, that if,
15 on those charges, the sense of the House of Commons should be against impeachment, the Opposition would let the matter drop, that Hastings would be immediately raised to the peerage, decorated with the star of the Bath, sworn of the Privy Council, and invited
20 to lend the assistance of his talents and experience to the India Board. Lord Thurlow, indeed, some months before, had spoken with contempt of the scruples which prevented Pitt from calling Hastings to the House of Lords; and had even said that, if
25 the Chancellor of the Exchequer was afraid of the Commons, there was nothing to prevent the Keeper of the Great Seal from taking the royal pleasure about a patent of peerage. The very title was chosen. Hastings was to be Lord Daylesford. For, through
30 all changes of scene and changes of fortune, remained unchanged his attachment to the spot which had witnessed the greatness and the fall of his family, *and which had borne so great a part in the first dreams of his young ambition.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

PITT'S CURIOUS VOTE AND SHERIDAN'S MEMORABLE
SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BUT in a very few days these fair prospects were overcast. On June 13, Mr. Fox brought forward, with great ability and eloquence, the charge respecting the treatment of Cheyte Sing. Francis followed on the same side. The friends of Hastings were in high spirits when Pitt rose. With his usual abundance and felicity of language, the Minister gave his opinion on the case. He maintained that the Governor-General was justified in calling on the Rajah of Benares for pecuniary assistance, and in imposing a fine when that assistance was contumaciously withheld. He also thought that the conduct of the Governor-General during the insurrection had been distinguished by ability and presence of mind. He censured, with great bitterness, the conduct of Francis, both in India and in Parliament, as most dishonest and malignant. The necessary inference from Pitt's arguments seemed to be that Hastings ought to be honourably acquitted; and both the friends and the opponents of the minister expected from him a declaration to that effect. To the astonishment of all parties, he concluded by saying that, though he thought it right in Hastings to fine Cheyte Sing for contumacy, yet the amount of the fine was too great for the occasion. On this ground, and on this ground alone, did Mr. Pitt, applauding every

other part of the conduct of Hastings with regard to Benares, declare that he should vote in favour of Mr. Fox's motion.

The House was thunderstruck ; and it well might
5 be so. For the wrong done to Cheyte Sing, even
had it been as flagitious as Fox and Francis contended,
was a trifle when compared with the horrors which
had been inflicted on Rohilcund. But if Mr. Pitt's
view of the case of Cheyte Sing were correct, there
10 was no ground for an impeachment, or even for a
vote of censure. If the offence of Hastings was really
no more than this, that, having a right to impose a
mulct, the amount of which mulct was not defined,
but was left to be settled by his discretion, he had,
15 not for his own advantage, but for that of the State,
demanded too much, was this an offence which
required a criminal proceeding of the highest
solemnity, a criminal proceeding to which, during
sixty years, no public functionary had been subjected?
20 We can see, we think, in what way a man of sense
and integrity might have been induced to take any
course respecting Hastings except the course which
Mr. Pitt took. Such a man might have thought a
great example necessary, for the preventing of in-
25 justice, and for the vindicating of the national honour ;
and might, on that ground, have voted for impeach-
ment both on the Rohilla charge, and on the Benares
charge. Such a man might have thought that the
offences of Hastings had been atoned for by great
30 services ; and might, on that ground, have voted
against the impeachment, on both charges. With
great diffidence, we give it as our opinion that the
most correct course would, on the whole, have been

to impeach on the Rohilla charge, and to acquit on the Benares charge. Had the Benares charge appeared to us in the same light in which it appeared to Mr. Pitt, we should, without hesitation, have voted for acquittal on that charge. The one course which 5 it is inconceivable that any man of a tenth part of Mr. Pitt's abilities can have honestly taken was the course which he took. He acquitted Hastings on the Rohilla charge. He softened down the Benares charge till it became no charge at all ; and then he 10 pronounced that it contained matter for impeachment.

Nor must it be forgotten that the principal reason assigned by the ministry for not impeaching Hastings on account of the Rohilla war was this, that the delinquencies of the early part of his administration 15 had been atoned for by the excellence of the later part. Was it not most extraordinary that men who had held this language, could afterwards vote that the later part of his administration furnished matter for no less than twenty articles of impeachment? They 20 first represented the conduct of Hastings in 1780 and 1781 as so highly meritorious that, like works of supererogation in the Catholic theology, it ought to be efficacious for the cancelling of former offences ; and they then prosecuted him for his conduct in 1780 25 and 1781.

The general astonishment was the greater, because, only twenty-four hours before, the members on whom the minister could depend had received the usual notes from the Treasury, begging them to be in their 30 places and to vote against Mr. Fox's motion. It was asserted by Mr. Hastings that, early on the morning of the very day on which the debate took place,

Dundas called on Pitt, woke him, and was closeted with him many hours. The result of this conference was a determination to give up the late Governor-General to the vengeance of the Opposition. It was
5 impossible even for the most powerful minister to carry all his followers with him in so strange a course. Several persons high in office, the Attorney-General, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Mulgrave, divided against Mr. Pitt. But the devoted adherents who stood by
10 the head of the Government without asking questions, were sufficiently numerous to turn the scale. A hundred and nineteen members voted for Mr. Fox's motion ; seventy-nine. against it. Dundas silently followed Pitt.

15 That good and great man, the late William Wilberforce, often related the events of this remarkable night. He described the amazement of the House, and the bitter reflections which were muttered against the Prime Minister by some of the habitual supporters
20 of Government. Pitt himself appeared to feel that his conduct required some explanation. He left the treasury bench, sat for some time next to Mr. Wilberforce, and very earnestly declared that he had found it impossible, as a man of conscience, to stand
25 any longer by Hastings. The business, he said, was too bad. Mr. Wilberforce, we are bound to add, fully believed that his friend was sincere, and that the suspicions to which this mysterious affair gave rise were altogether unfounded.

30 Those suspicions, indeed, were such as it is painful to mention. The friends of Hastings, most of whom, *it is to be observed*, generally supported the Administration, affirmed that the motive of Pitt and Dundas

was jealousy. Hastings was personally a favourite with the King. He was the idol of the East India Company and of its servants. If he were absolved by the Commons, seated among the Lords, admitted to the Board of Control, closely allied with the strong- 5 minded and imperious Thurlow, was it not almost certain that he would soon draw to himself the entire management of Eastern affairs? Was it not possible that he might become a formidable rival in the Cabinet? It had probably got abroad that very 10 singular communications had taken place between Thurlow and Major Scott, and that, if the First Lord of the Treasury was afraid to recommend Hastings for a peerage, the Chancellor was ready to take the responsibility of that step on himself. Of all minis- 15 ters, Pitt was the least likely to submit with patience to such an encroachment on his functions. If the Commons impeached Hastings, all danger was at an end. The proceeding, however it might terminate, would probably last some years. In the meantime, 20 the accused person would be excluded from honours and public employments, and could scarcely venture even to pay his duty at court. Such were the motives attributed by a great part of the public to the young minister, whose ruling passion was generally believed 25 to be avarice of power.

The prorogation soon interrupted the discussions respecting Hastings. In the following year those discussions were resumed. The charge touching the spoliation of the Begums was brought forward by 30 Sheridan, in a speech which was so imperfectly reported that it may be said to be wholly lost, but which was, without doubt, the most elaborately

brilliant of all the productions of his ingenious mind. The impression which it produced was such as has never been equalled. He sat down, not merely amidst cheering, but amidst the loud clapping of
5 hands, in which the Lords below the bar and the strangers in the gallery joined. The excitement of the House was such that no other speaker could obtain a hearing ; and the debate was adjourned. The ferment spread fast through the town. Within
10 four-and-twenty hours, Sheridan was offered a thousand pounds for the copyright of the speech if he would himself correct it for the press. The impression made by this remarkable display of eloquence on severe and experienced critics, whose discernment
15 may be supposed to have been quickened by emulation, was deep and permanent. Mr. Windham, twenty years later, said that the speech deserved all its fame, and was, in spite of some faults of taste, such as were seldom wanting either in the literary or
20 in the parliamentary performances of Sheridan, the finest that had been delivered within the memory of man. Mr. Fox, about the same time, being asked by the late Lord Holland what was the best speech ever made in the House of Commons, assigned the
25 first place, without hesitation, to the great oration of Sheridan on the Oude charge.

When the debate was resumed, the tide ran so strongly against the accused that his friends were coughed and scraped down. Pitt declared himself
30 for Sheridan's motion ; and the question was carried by a hundred and seventy-five votes against sixty-eight.

the Opposition, flushed with victory and strongly

supported by the public sympathy, proceeded to bring forward a succession of charges relating chiefly to pecuniary transactions. The friends of Hastings were discouraged, and having now no hope of being able to avert an impeachment, were not very strenuous in their exertions. At length the House, having agreed to twenty articles of charge, directed Burke to go before the Lords, and to impeach the late Governor-General of High Crimes and Misdemeanours. Hastings was at the same time arrested by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and carried to the bar of the Peers. 5 10

The session was now within ten days of its close. It was, therefore, impossible that any progress could be made in the trial till the next year. Hastings was admitted to bail ; and further proceedings were postponed till the Houses should re-assemble. 15

When Parliament met in the following winter, the Commons proceeded to elect a committee for managing the impeachment. Burke stood at the head ; and with him were associated most of the leading members of the Opposition. But when the name of Francis was read a fierce contention arose. It was said that Francis and Hastings were notoriously on bad terms, that they had been at feud during many years ; that on one occasion their mutual aversion had impelled them to seek each other's lives, and that it would be improper and indelicate to select a private enemy to be a public accuser. It was urged on the other side with great force, particularly by Mr. Windham, that impartiality, though the first duty of a judge, had never been reckoned among the qualities of an advocate ; that in the ordinary administration of criminal justice among the English, 20 25 30

the aggrieved party, the very last person who ought to be admitted into the jury-box, is the prosecutor ; that what was wanted in a manager was, not that he should be free from bias, but that he should be able, well-informed, energetic, and active. The ability and information of Francis were admitted ; and the very animosity with which he was reproached, whether a virtue or a vice, was at least a pledge for his energy and activity. It seems difficult to refute these arguments. But the inveterate hatred borne by Francis to Hastings had excited general disgust. The House decided that Francis should not be a manager. Pitt voted with the majority, Dundas with the minority.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HASTINGS AND HIS ACCUSERS IN WESTMINSTER HALL.

IN the meantime, the preparations for the trial had proceeded rapidly ; and on February 13, 1788, the sittings of the Court commenced. There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewellery and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster ; but, perhaps, there never was a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were

collected on one spot, and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilisation were now displayed, with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of our constitution were laid ; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, the hall where Charles had confronted the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half-redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under Garter King-at-Arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three-fourths of the

Upper House, as the Upper House then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior Baron present led the way, George Eliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the King. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing. The grey old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the Queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the ambassadors of great Kings and Commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman Empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful fore-

heads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine, from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition, a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There too was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia, whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticised, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock-hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire.

20

The Sergeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar, and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country, had made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-

respect, a high and intellectual forehead, a brow pensive, but not gloomy, a mouth of inflexible decision, a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens æqua in arduis* ; such was the aspect with which the great Proconsul presented himself to his judges.

His counsel accompanied him, men all of whom were afterwards raised by their talents and learning to the highest posts in their profession—the bold and strong-minded Law, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench ; the more humane and eloquent Dallas, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas ; and Plomer, who, near twenty years later, successfully conducted in the same high court the defence of Lord Melville, and subsequently became Vice-Chancellor and Master of the Rolls.

But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been fitted up with green benches and tables for the Commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment, and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord North for the duties of a public prosecutor ; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his *tact*, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence

of these two distinguished members of the Lower House, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, the English 5 Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to 10 every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled 15 Windham. Nor, though surrounded by such men, did the youngest manager pass unnoticed. At an age when most of those who distinguish themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships at college, he had won for himself a conspicuous place 20 in Parliament. No advantage of fortune or connection was wanting that could set off to the height his splendid talents and his unblemished honour. At twenty-three he had been thought worthy to be ranked with the veteran statesmen who appeared as the 25 delegates of the British Commons, at the bar of the British nobility. All who stood at that bar, save him alone, are gone, culprit, advocates, accusers. To the generation which is now in the vigour of life, he is the sole representative of a great age which has passed 30 away. But those who, within the last ten years, have listened with delight, till the morning sun shone on the tapestries of the House of Lords, to the lofty and

animated eloquence of Charles Earl Grey, are able to form some estimate of the powers of a race of men among whom he was not the foremost.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BURKE'S MAGNIFICENT SPEECH AT THE IMPEACHMENT.

THE charges and the answers of Hastings were
5 first read. The ceremony occupied two whole
days, and was rendered less tedious than it would
otherwise have been by the silver voice and just
emphasis of Cowper, the clerk of the court, a near
relation of the amiable poet. On the third day Burke
10 rose. Four sittings were occupied by his opening
speech, which was intended to be a general intro-
duction to all the charges. With an exuberance of
thought and a splendour of diction which more than
satisfied the highly raised expectation of the audience,
15 he described the character and institutions of the
natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which
the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set
forth the constitution of the Company and of the
English Presidencies. Having thus attempted to
20 communicate to his hearers an idea of Eastern society,
as vivid as that which existed in his own mind, he
proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings
as systematically conducted in defiance of morality
and public law. The energy and pathos of the great

orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile Chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such displays of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out ; smelling-bottles were handed round ; hysterical sobs and screams were heard ; and Mrs. 10 Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded, 'Therefore,' said he, 'hath it with all confidence been ordered by the Commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of 15 high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people 20 of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all !'

When the deep murmur of various emotions had subsided, Mr. Fox rose to address the Lords respecting the course of proceeding to be followed. The wish of the accusers was that the Court would bring to a 30 close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was that the managers should open all the

charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defence began. The Lords retired to their own House to consider the question. The Chancellor took the side of Hastings. Lord Loughborough, 5 who was now in opposition, supported the demand of the managers. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favour of the course for which Hastings contended.

10 When the Court sat again, Mr. Fox, assisted by Mr. Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheyte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next article was that relating to the Princesses of Oude. The conduct of this part 15 of the case was entrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly finished declamation lasted two days ; but the hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been 20 paid for a single ticket. Sheridan, when he concluded, contrived, with a knowledge of stage effect which his father might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke, who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration.

25 June was now far advanced. The session could not last much longer ; and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution been 30 heard ; and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

The interest taken by the public in the trial was at when the Court began to sit, and rose to the

height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the Begums. From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The great displays of rhetoric were over. What was behind was not of a nature to entice men 5 of letters from their books in the morning, or to tempt ladies who had left the masquerade at two to be out of bed before eight. There remained examinations and cross-examinations. There remained statements of accounts. There remained the reading of papers 10 filled with words unintelligible to English ears, with lacs and crores, zemindars and aumils, sunnuds and perwannahs, jaghires and nuzzurs. There remained bickerings, not always carried on with the best taste or with the best temper, between the managers of 15 the impeachment and the counsel for the defence, particularly between Mr. Burke and Mr. Law. There, remained the endless marches and countermarches of the Peers between their House and the Hall : for as often as a point of law was to be discussed, their 20 Lordships retired to discuss it apart ; and the consequence was, as a Peer wittily said, that the judges walked and the trial stood still.

It is to be added that, in the spring of 1788, when the trial commenced, no important question, either 25 of domestic or foreign policy, occupied the public mind. The proceeding in Westminster Hall, therefore, naturally attracted most of the attention of Parliament and of the country. It was the one great event of that season. But in the following year the King's 30 illness, the debates on the Regency, the expectation of a change of ministry, completely diverted public attention from Indian affairs ; and within a fortnight

after George the Third had returned thanks in St. Paul's for his recovery, the States-General of France met at Versailles. In the midst of the agitation produced by these events, the impeachment was for a
5 time almost forgotten.

The trial in the Hall went on languidly. In the session of 1788, when the proceedings had the interest of novelty, and when the Peers had little other business before them, only thirty-five days were given
10 to the impeachment. In 1789, the Regency Bill occupied the Upper House till the session was far advanced. When the King recovered the circuits were beginning. The judges left town ; the Lords waited for the return of the oracles of jurisprudence ; and
15 the consequence was that during the whole year only seventeen days were given to the case of Hastings. It was clear that the matter would be protracted to a length unprecedented in the annals of criminal law.

In truth, it is impossible to deny that impeach-
20 ment, though it is a fine ceremony, and though it may have been useful in the seventeenth century, is not a proceeding from which much good can now be expected. Whatever confidence may be placed in the decision of the Peers on an appeal arising out of
25 ordinary litigation, it is certain that no man has the least confidence in their impartiality, when a great public functionary, charged with a great state crime, is brought to their bar. They are all politicians. There is hardly one among them whose vote on an
30 impeachment may not be confidently predicted before a witness has been examined ; and, even if it were possible to rely on their justice, they would still be *quite unfit* to try such a cause as that of Hastings. *They sit only during half the year. They have to*

transact much legislative and much judicial business. The law-lords, whose advice is required to guide the unlearned majority, are employed daily in administering justice elsewhere. It is impossible, therefore, that during a busy session, the Upper House should give 5 more than a few days to an impeachment. To expect that their Lordships would give up partridge-shooting, in order to bring the greatest delinquent to speedy justice, or to relieve accused innocence by speedy acquittal, would be unreasonable indeed. A 10 well-constituted tribunal, sitting regularly six days in the week, and nine hours in the day, would have brought the trial of Hastings to a close in less than three months. The Lords had not finished their work in seven years. 15

The result ceased to be matter of doubt, from the time when the Lords resolved that they would be guided by the rules of evidence which are received in the inferior courts of the realm. Those rules, it is well known, exclude much information which would 20 be quite sufficient to determine the conduct of any reasonable man, in the most important transactions of private life. These rules, at every assizes, save scores of culprits whom judges, jury, and spectators firmly believe to be guilty. But when those rules were 25 rigidly applied to offences committed many years before, at the distance of many thousands of miles, conviction was, of course, out of the question. We do not blame the accused and his counsel for availing themselves of every legal advantage in order to obtain 30 an acquittal. But it is clear that an acquittal so obtained cannot be pleaded in bar of the judgment of history.

CHAPTER XXIX.

A SEVEN YEARS' TRIAL ENDING IN AN ACQUITTAL.

SEVERAL attempts were made by the friends of Hastings to put a stop to the trial. In 1789 they proposed a vote of censure upon Burke, for some violent language which he had used respecting the death of Nuncomar and the connection between Hastings and Impey. Burke was then unpopular in the last degree both with the House and with the country. The asperity and indecency of some expressions which he had used during the debates on the

5 Regency had annoyed even his warmest friends. The vote of censure was carried ; and those who had moved it hoped that the managers would resign in disgust. Burke was deeply hurt. But his zeal for what he considered as the cause of justice and mercy

10 triumphed over his personal feelings. He received the censure of the House with dignity and meekness, and declared that no personal mortification or humiliation should induce him to flinch from the sacred duty which he had undertaken.

20 In the following year the Parliament was dissolved ; and the friends of Hastings entertained a hope that the new House of Commons might not be disposed to go on with the impeachment. They began by maintaining that the whole proceeding was terminated by

25 the dissolution. Defeated on this point, they made a direct motion that the impeachment should be ~~v~~opped ; but they were defeated by the combined

forces of the Government and the Opposition. It was, however, resolved that, for the sake of expedition, many of the articles should be withdrawn. In truth, had not some such measure been adopted, the trial would have lasted till the defendant was in his grave. 5

At length, in the spring of 1795, the decision was pronounced, near eight years after Hastings had been brought by the Serjeant-at-arms of the Commons to the bar of the Lords. On the last day of this great procedure the public curiosity long suspended, seemed 10 to be revived. Anxiety about the judgment there could be none ; for it had been fully ascertained that there was a great majority for the defendant. Nevertheless many wished to see the pageant, and the Hall was as much crowded as on the first day. But those 15 who, having been present on the first day, now bore a part in the proceedings of the last, were few ; and most of those few were altered men.

As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment 20 was pronounced by another. The spectator could not look at the woolsack, or at the red benches of the Peers, or at the green benches of the Commons, without seeing something that reminded him of the instability of all human things, of the instability of power 25 and fame and life, of the more lamentable instability of friendship. The great seal was borne before Lord Loughborough, who, when the trial commenced, was a fierce opponent of Mr. Pitt's government, and who was now a member of that government, while Thur- 30 low, who presided in the court when it first sat, estranged from all his old allies, sat scowling among the junior barons. Of about a hundred and sixty

nobles who walked in the procession on the first day, sixty had been laid in their family vaults. Still more affecting must have been the sight of the managers' box. What had become of that fair fellowship, so
5 closely bound together by public and private ties, so resplendent with every talent and accomplishment? It had been scattered by calamities more bitter than the bitterness of death. The great chiefs were still living, and still in the full vigour of their genius. But
10 their friendship was at an end. It had been violently and publicly dissolved, with tears and stormy reproaches. If those men, once so dear to each other, were now compelled to meet for the purpose of managing the impeachment, they met as strangers
15 whom public business had brought together, and behaved to each other with cold and distant civility. Burke had in his vortex whirled away Windham. Fox had been followed by Sheridan and Grey.

Only twenty-nine Peers voted. Of these only six
20 found Hastings guilty on the charges relating to Cheyte Sing and to the Begums. On other charges, the majority in his favour was still greater. On some he was unanimously absolved. He was then called to the bar, was informed from the woolsack
25 that the Lords had acquitted him, and was solemnly discharged. He bowed respectfully and retired.

We have said that the decision had been fully expected. It was also generally approved. At the commencement of the trial there had been a strong
30 and indeed unreasonable feeling against Hastings. At the close of the trial there was a feeling equally strong and equally unreasonable in his favour. *One cause* of the change was, no doubt, what is

commonly called the fickleness of the multitude, but what seems to us to be merely the general law of human nature. Both in individuals and in masses violent excitement is always followed by remission, and often by reaction. We are all inclined 5 to depreciate whatever we have overpraised, and, on the other hand, to show undue indulgence where we have shown undue rigour. It was thus in the case of Hastings. The length of his trial, moreover, made him an object of compassion. It was thought, and 10 not without reason, that, even if he was guilty, he was still an ill-used man, and that an impeachment of eight years was more than a sufficient punishment. It was also felt that, though, in the ordinary course of criminal law, a defendant is not allowed to set off his 15 good actions against his crimes, a great political cause should be tried on different principles, and that a man who had governed an empire during thirteen years might have done some very reprehensible things, and yet might be on the whole deserving 20 of rewards and honours rather than of fine and imprisonment. The press, an instrument neglected by the prosecutors, was used by Hastings and his friends with great effect. Every ship, too, that arrived from Madras or Bengal, brought a cuddy-full of his ad- 25 mirers. Every gentleman from India spoke of the late Governor-General as having deserved better, and having been treated worse, than any man living. The effect of this testimony unanimously given by all persons who knew the East, was naturally very great. 30 Retired members of the Indian services, civil and military, were settled in all corners of the kingdom. Each of them was, of course, in his own little circle,

regarded as an oracle on an Indian question ; and they were, with scarcely one exception, the zealous advocates of Hastings. It is to be added, that the numerous addresses to the late Governor-General, which his friends in Bengal obtained from the natives and transmitted to England, made a considerable impression. To these addresses we attach little or no importance. That Hastings was beloved by the people whom he governed is true ; but the eulogies of pundits, zemindars, Mahommedan doctors, do not prove it to be true. For an English collector or judge would have found it easy to induce any native who could write to sign a panegyric on the most odious ruler that ever was in India. It was said that at Benares, the very place at which the acts set forth in the first article of impeachment had been committed, the natives had erected a temple to Hastings ; and this story excited a strong sensation in England. Burke's observations on the apotheosis were admirable. He saw no reason for astonishment, he said, in the incident which had been represented as so striking. He knew something of the mythology of the Brahmins. He knew that as they worshipped some gods from love, so they worshipped others from fear. He knew that they erected shrines, not only to the benignant deities of light and plenty, but also to the fiends who preside over small-pox and murder ; nor did he at all dispute the claim of Mr. Hastings to be admitted into such a Pantheon. This reply has always struck us as one of the finest that ever was made in Parliament. It is a grave and forcible argument, decorated by the most brilliant wit and fancy.

Hastings was, however, safe. But in everything

except character, he would have been far better off if, when first impeached, he had at once pleaded guilty, and paid a fine of fifty thousand pounds. He was a ruined man. The legal expenses of his defence had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear 5 in his attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had been paid to Major Scott. Great sums had been laid out in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts. Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the House of Commons that twenty 10 thousand pounds had been employed in corrupting the press. It is certain that no controversial weapon, from the gravest reasoning to the coarsest ribaldry, was left unemployed. Logan defended the accused Governor with great ability in prose. For the lovers 15 of verse, the speeches of the managers were burlesqued in Simpkin's letters. It is, we are afraid, indisputable that Hastings stooped so low as to court the aid of that malignant and filthy baboon John Williams, who called himself Anthony Pasquin. It 20 was necessary to subsidise such allies largely. The private hoards of Mrs. Hastings had disappeared. It is said that the banker to whom they had been entrusted had failed. Still if Hastings had practised strict economy, he would, after all his losses, have had a 25 moderate competence ; but in the management of his private affairs he was imprudent. The dearest wish of his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in the very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was accomplished ; and the 30 domain, alienated more than seventy years before, returned to the descendant of its old lords. But the manor house was a ruin ; and the grounds round it

had, during many years, been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to plant, to form a sheet of water, to excavate a grotto; and, before he was dismissed from the bar of the House of Lords, he
5 had expended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

The general feeling both of the Directors and of the proprietors of the East India Company was that he had great claims on them, that his services to them
10 had been eminent, and that his misfortunes had been the effect of his zeal for their interest. His friends in Leadenhall Street proposed to reimburse him the costs of his trial, and to settle on him an annuity of five thousand pounds a year. But the consent of the
15 Board of Control was necessary; and at the head of the Board of Control was Mr. Dundas, who had himself been a party to the impeachment, who had, on that account, been reviled with great bitterness by the adherents of Hastings, and who, therefore, was
20 not in a very complying mood. He refused to consent to what the Directors suggested. The Directors remonstrated. A long controversy followed. Hastings, in the meantime, was reduced to such distress, that he could hardly pay his weekly bills. At length
25 a compromise was made. An annuity for life of four thousand pounds was settled on Hastings; and in order to enable him to meet pressing demands, he was to receive ten years' annuity in advance. The Company was also permitted to lend him fifty thou-
30 sand pounds, to be repaid by instalments without interest. This relief, though given in the most absurd manner, was sufficient to enable the retired Governor *to live in comfort, and even in luxury, if he had been*

a skilful manager. But he was careless and profuse, and was more than once under the necessity of applying to the Company for assistance, which was liberally given.

He had security and affluence, but not the power and dignity which, when he landed from India, he had reason to expect. He had then looked forward to a coronet, a red riband, a seat at the Council Board, an office at Whitehall. He was then only fifty-two, and might hope for many years of bodily and mental vigour. The case was widely different when he left the bar of the Lords. He was now too old a man to turn his mind to a new class of studies and duties. He had no chance of receiving any mark of royal favour while Mr. Pitt remained in power; and, when Mr. Pitt retired, Hastings was approaching his seventieth year.

Once, and only once, after his acquittal, he interfered in politics; and that interference was not much to his honour. In 1804 he exerted himself strenuously to prevent Mr. Addington, against whom Fox and Pitt had combined, from resigning the Treasury. It is difficult to believe that a man so able and energetic as Hastings can have thought that, when Bonaparte was at Boulogne with a great army, the defence of our island could safely be intrusted to a ministry which did not contain a single person whom flattery could describe as a great statesman. It is also certain that, on the important question which had raised Mr. Addington to power, and on which he differed from both Fox and Pitt, Hastings, as might have been expected, agreed with Fox and Pitt, and was decidedly opposed to Addington. Religious

intolerance has never been the vice of the Indian service, and certainly was not the vice of Hastings. But Mr. Addington had treated him with marked favour. Fox had been a principal manager of the impeachment. To Pitt it was owing that there had been an impeachment; and Hastings, we fear, was on this occasion guided by personal considerations, rather than by a regard to the public interest.

CHAPTER XXX.

AT DAYLESFORD AGAIN.

THE last twenty-four years of his life were chiefly
10 passed at Daylesford. He amused himself with embellishing his grounds, riding fine Arab horses, fattening prize-cattle, and trying to rear Indian animals and vegetables in England. He sent for seeds of a very fine custard-apple, from the garden of what had once
15 been his own villa, among the green hedgerows of Allipore. He tried also to naturalise in Worcestershire the delicious leechée, almost the only fruit of Bengal which deserves to be regretted even amidst the plenty of Covent Garden. The Mogul emperors,
20 in the time of their greatness, had in vain attempted to introduce into Hindostan the goat of the tableland of Thibet, whose down supplies the looms of Cashmere with the materials of the finest shawls. Hastings tried, with no better fortune, to rear a breed
25 at Daylesford; nor does he seem to have succeeded

better with the cattle of Bootan, whose tails are in high esteem as the best fans for brushing away the mosquitoes.

Literature divided his attention with his conservatories and his menagerie. He had always loved books, 5 and they were now necessary to him. Though not a poet, in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility, and was fond of exercising this talent. Indeed, if we must speak out, he seems to have been more of a Trissotin than was 10 to be expected from the powers of his mind, and from the great part which he had played in life. We are assured in these Memoirs that the first thing which he did in the morning was to write a copy of verses. When the family and guests assembled, the 15 poem made its appearance as regularly as the eggs and rolls; and Mr. Gleig requires us to believe that, if from any accident Hastings came to the breakfast-table without one of his charming performances in his hand, the omission was felt by all as a grievous dis- 20 appointment. Tastes differ widely. For ourselves, we must say that, however good the breakfasts at Daylesford may have been—and we are assured that the tea was of the most aromatic flavour, and that neither tongue nor venison-pasty was wanting—we 25 should have thought the reckoning high if we had been forced to earn our repast by listening every day to a new madrigal or sonnet composed by our host. We are glad, however, that Mr. Gleig has preserved this little feature of character, though we think it by no 30 means a beauty. It is good to be often reminded of the inconsistency of human nature, and to learn to look without wonder or disgust on the weaknesses which

are found in the strongest minds. Dionysius in old times, Frederic in the last century, with capacity and vigour equal to the conduct of the greatest affairs, united all the little vanities and affectations of provincial blue-stockings. These great examples may console the admirers of Hastings for the affliction of seeing him reduced to the level of the Hayleys and Sewards.

When Hastings had passed many years in retirement, and had long outlived the common age of men, he again became for a short time an object of general attention. In 1813 the charter of the East India Company was renewed ; and much discussion about Indian affairs took place in Parliament. It was determined to examine witnesses at the bar of the Commons ; and Hastings was ordered to attend. He had appeared at that bar once before. It was when he read his answer to the charges which Burke had laid on the table. Since that time twenty-seven years had elapsed ; public feeling had undergone a complete change ; the nation had now forgotten his faults, and remembered only his services. The reappearance, too, of a man who had been among the most distinguished of a generation that had passed away, who now belonged to history, and who seemed to have risen from the dead, could not but produce a solemn and pathetic effect. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and, when he retired, rose and uncovered. There were, indeed, a few who did not sympathise with the general feeling. One or two of the managers of the impeachment were present. They sate in the same seats which they had occupied when they had been

thanked for the services which they had rendered in Westminster Hall : for, by the courtesy of the House, a member who has been thanked in his place is considered as having a right always to that place. These gentlemen were not disposed to admit that they had 5 employed several of the best years of their lives in persecuting an innocent man. They accordingly kept their seats, and pulled their hats over their brows ; but the exceptions only made the prevailing enthusiasm more remarkable. The Lords received the old man 10 with similar tokens of respect. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws ; and in the Sheldonian Theatre, the undergraduates welcomed him with tumultuous cheering.

These marks of public esteem were soon followed 15 by marks of royal favour. Hastings was sworn of the Privy Council, and was admitted to a long private audience of the Prince Regent, who treated him very graciously. When the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited England, Hastings appeared 20 in their train both at Oxford and in the Guildhall of London, and, though surrounded by a crowd of princes and great warriors, was everywhere received with marks of respect and admiration. He was presented by the Prince Regent both to Alexander and to 25 Frederic William ; and his Royal Highness went so far as to declare in public that honours far higher than a seat in the Privy Council were due, and would soon be paid, to the man who had saved the British dominions in Asia. Hastings now confidently ex- 30 pected a peerage ; but from some unexplained cause, he was again disappointed.

He lived about four years longer, in the enjoy-

ment of good spirits, of faculties not impaired to any painful or degrading extent, and of health such as is rarely enjoyed by those who attain such an age. At length, on the twenty-second of August, 1818, in the
5 eighty-sixth year of his age, he met death with the same tranquil and decorous fortitude which he had opposed to all the trials of his various and eventful life.

With all his faults—and they were neither few
10 nor small—only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried, in the Great Abbey which has during many ages afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose
15 minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the Great Hall, the dust of the illustrious accused should have mingled with the dust of the illustrious accusers. This was not to be. Yet the place of interment was not ill chosen. Behind the
20 chancel of the parish church of Daylesford, in earth which already held the bones of many chiefs of the house of Hastings, was laid the coffin of the greatest man who has ever borne that ancient and widely extended name. On that very spot probably, fourscore
25 years before, the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of ploughmen. Even then his young mind had revolved plans which might be called romantic. Yet, however romantic, it is not likely that they had been so
30 strange as the truth. Not only had the poor orphan retrieved the fallen fortunes of his line. Not only had he repurchased the old lands, and rebuilt the old dwelling. He had preserved and extended an empire.

He had founded a polity. He had administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu. He had patronised learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo. He had been attacked by the most formidable combination of enemies that ever 5 sought the destruction of a single victim ; and over that combination, after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fulness of age, in peace, after so many troubles, in honour, after so much obloquy. 10

Those who look on his character without favour or malevolence will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue, in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were some- 15 what lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But though we cannot with truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administra- 20 tion, and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the state, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune, and never disturbed by either.

NOTES.

[N.B.—The *Introduction* is referred to by Roman numerals for the page and Arabic numerals for the paragraph. The Essay and Notes are referred to by page and line. Thus, 8. 2 means page 8, line 2.]

PAGE 1.

We—In magazine and newspaper articles the plural pronoun 'we' is used instead of 'I,' because, as a rule, the writer's name is not given, and the opinions expressed are supposed to be those, not simply of the writer, but of the conductors of the paper. The 'Edinburgh Review,' in which this essay first appeared, had been for forty years a most influential periodical. The essays of Lord Macaulay greatly increased its power.

3 **this book**—entitled, 'Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings,' by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A.

7 **impeached**—*accused*; charged him, before the House of Lords, with great public crimes.

8 **uncovered**—took off their hats; hats are often worn in the House by members.

14 **countenance**—favour or support.

— **adulation**—praise more than is justly due; flattery.

PAGE 2.

2 **insip'id**—without character; uninteresting.

5 **Lely, Sir Peter**, 1617–1680, a celebrated portrait painter.

8 **magnanimity**—greatness of mind, from Lat. *magnus*, great, and *animus*, mind.

9 **characteristic**—that which distinguishes one person or thing from another.

12 **curl-pated minions**—the favourites of James I., who were foppish in dress, and wore their hair in long curls, like a woman's. Cromwell's party, known as the 'Roundheads,' wore their hair cropped close.

15 **remorse**—pain excited by the recollection of guilt. Lat. *re*, again, and *mordeo*, I bite.

16 **policy**—art of managing public affairs. [Greek *polis*, a city.]

21 **pedigree**—a list of one's ancestors in regular order.

22 **great . sea-king**—Hasting, who landed in Kent at the head of a number of Northmen; defeated by King Alfred at Farnham, 894.

- 26 **genius**—great natural power.
 29 **wore the coronet**—were earls.
 30 **renowned Chamberlain**—Lord William Hastings, a Yorkist, was ennobled and enriched by Edward IV., and became Lord High Chamberlain. Was beheaded in 1483 by Richard III.

PAGE 3.

- 2 **Earldom of Huntingdon**—On the death of the tenth Earl in 1789, the earldom, which is limited to heirs male, was dormant till 1819, when Captain Hans-Francis Hastings, having proved his descent from the second Earl (1560) and the extinction of all the intervening male descendants, was called to the House of Lords as twelfth Earl, his father being reckoned as eleventh, though he had never claimed the earldom. The singularity of the case is that it succeeded in despite of the claimant himself, and was due to his legal adviser Mr. Bell, who undertook the affair on his own responsibility, and entirely at his own expense.
- 4 **lord of the manor**—one who has the fee of a feudal estate, and is entitled to the homage of the tenants. If not of noble birth, he is not addressed as a lord.
- 6 **main stock**—the line of eldest sons in the descent of a family.
- 12 **raised money**—borrowed money, for which, in case it was not repaid, his lands were to be given up.
- 13 **plate**—articles made of gold or silver, for use at the table.
 — **mint**—the Government office for coining money.
- 15 **to ransom**—to free from captivity or punishment by the payment of a price.
- 17 **Speaker Lenthall, 1591–1662**, the Speaker or Chairman of the House of Commons during its contests with Charles I.
- 23 **rectory**—a Church living, consisting of land, the great tithes, &c., for the maintenance of a rector.
- 27 **lawsuits**—actions in the courts of law to obtain right or justice.
 — **tithes**—the tenth part of the produce of land and stock formerly allotted to the clergy. Tithes are now paid in money in the form of a rent-charge. [A.S. *teothe*, a tenth].
- 30 **Customs**—the department of Government charged with the collection of taxes upon merchandise exported or imported.

PAGE 4.

- 2 **vicissitudes of fortune**—the changes, or 'ups and downs' of life. [Lat. *vicis*, a change].
- 8 **peasantry**—countrymen; those occupied in rural labour [old Fr. *paisant*, a peasant].
- 11 **rustics**—simple untaught inhabitants of the country [Lat. *rusticus*, belonging to the country].
- 13 **ambition**—a restless desire of power, fame, or excellence.
- 16 **ancestors**—progenitors or forefathers.
- 18 **projects**—schemes or plans for the future.
- 24 **Isis**—the upper part of the Thames above Oxford. Daylesford is on the Evenlode &

- trib. of the Thames), and a little west of Chipping Norton.
- 30 **intellect** . . . **expanded**—mental power increased.
- 32 **indomitable**—untamable ; not to be subdued.

PAGE 5.

- 1 **under** . . . **sun**—in India, which, lying partly between the Equator and the Tropic of Cancer, has a very hot climate.
- 3 **finance**—the gathering and spending of the public money.
- **legislation**—the act of making laws for a State.
- 5 **chequered**—crossed ; mingled.
- **obloquy**—shame ; reproach.
- 10 **liberal education**—an education becoming a gentleman, generally including a knowledge of Greek and Latin.
- 14 **seminary**—a seed-plot ; figuratively a school or college.
- **Westminster School**—founded in 1560 by Queen Elizabeth for the instruction of forty scholars in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.
- 16 **Vinny** (Vincent) **Bourne**, 1700-47, chiefly remembered for his Latin poetry.
- 17 **Churchill, Charles**, 1731-64, a famous satirical poet.
- **Colman, George**, 1733-94, a writer of essays and plays.
- **Lloyd, Robert**, 1733-64, a minor poet.
- 18 **Cumberland, Richard**, 1732-1811, a play-writer and Government official ; called by Garrick 'the man without a skin,' because of his extreme irritability of temper.
- **Cowper, William**, 1731-1800, a poet, wrote 'The Task,' 'John Gilpin,' &c.

- 20 **dissimilarity** — unlikeness ; want of resemblance.
- 24 **orator**—an eloquent public speaker.
- 26 **secluded** — retired ; living away from society.
- 29 **cloister**—a pathway, under a roof supported by pillars and arches, running round an inclosed court.
- 32 **rhyming**—making lines ending in similar sounds ; writing poetry. [More properly spelt *riming*.]
- **Ouse**—the Great Ouse, which flows by Olney, in Buckinghamshire, where Cowper lived.

PAGE 6.

- 8 **human depravity**—the doctrine that by the sin of Adam and Eve the whole race of mankind had fallen into a state of wickedness.
- 15 **Elijah Impey, Sir**, later on, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. Lord Macaulay represents him as a thoroughly corrupt judge. His evil repute, as well as that of Hastings, may be largely traced to the thorough-going hatred of Francis. Impey was recalled in 1782, and impeached in 1788 ; died 1812.
- 19 **fag**—a schoolboy who is the forced drudge of an elder pupil. Impey was really a little older than Hastings.
- 24 **foundation**—a gift of money or lands to found and support a scholarship ; *the scholarship itself*.
- 25 **dormitory**—a sleeping-room.
- 28 **Christ Church**—a college in Oxford University, founded by Cardinal Wolsey.
- 30 **bequeathing**—leaving by will.
- 31 **Chiswick**—pr. *Chis-ik*.

PAGE 7.

- 1 **remon'strances** — reasons strongly urged against a course of action; expostulations.
- 6 **inflexible** — not to be bent; unyielding.
- 7 **hexam'eter** — In most poetry, an unaccented syllable followed by an accented syllable makes what is called a *foot* or *measure*. A hexameter is a line (or verse) of six feet or measures [Gr. *hex*, six, and *metron*, a measure].
- 8 **pentameter** — a verse of five feet. [Gr. *pente*, five.] (In the public schools much time was, and is, spent in writing Latin verses; Chiswick thought it time wasted.)
- 18 **Bengal** — a province of North-East India; 350 miles long and 300 miles broad; one vast fertile plain, with the river Ganges running through it; it produces sugar, silk, cotton, pepper, opium, rice, tobacco, indigo, corn, saltpetre, lac, and civet; contains sixty-nine millions of people; climate, hot and moist; capital, Calcutta.
- 18 **destination** — end of his journey. The voyage in 1750 took from six to ten months.
- 22 **Fort William**, the strongest fortress in India; built, in 1757, to protect Calcutta.
- 24 **encroaching policy** — settled plan to take possession gradually of what belongs to another.
- **Dupleix, Joseph** pr. *Du-plā*) — a successful French merchant who became governor of French India in 1742; was raised to the rank of Marquis for holding Pondicherry against the English. Had great abili-

ties. Recalled to France, where he died in 1763, shamefully neglected.

- 24 **transformed** — changed.
- 26 **diplo'matists** — those who arrange the relations and conduct the intercourse between nations.
- 26 **war of succession** — xiv. 14.
- 27 **Carnatic** — a lowland district in South-Eastern India, extending from the Coromandel coast to the Eastern Ghauts. Conquered by the British in 1783.

PAGE 8.

- 2 **Clive, Robert**, Lord Clive and Baron Plassey, 1725–74. Went to India as a clerk, but within two years left his desk and joined the army. His admirable judgment, valour, and respect for lawful authority soon lifted him into notice. At Arcot and Trichinopoly he gained important victories over the French. In 1757 he laid the foundation of our empire in India by the Battle of Plassey. With about 3,000 men Clive completely routed an army of 50,000 foot and 18,000 horse soldiers under Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal. The horrible Black Hole massacre was avenged, and the rich province of Bengal fell to the English. As Governor of Calcutta, Clive performed valuable services, for which he was made a peer. In 1767 he returned finally to England. Charges were made against him in the House of Commons by those who viewed with suspicion the great wealth he had acquired; the charges were not proven, yet the fact of their being

- made him: Give so deeply that he committed suicide in 1774.
- 5 **bill of lading**—a written acknowledgment of receipt of goods, and undertaking to carry and deliver them for a certain sum.
- 13 **ostensibly**—in appearance only, not really.
- 14 **the Mogul**, or the Great Mogul—the sovereign of an empire whose capital was Delhi, founded by Baber in 1526. This line of sovereigns ended in 1857, but their real greatness and power departed a hundred years earlier. The Afghans, the Rajpoots, and the Mahrattas, three warlike races, quite broke the power of the Mogul Empire. After the death of Aurungzebe in 1707, the old order of things under the Mogul authority began to disappear; 'the new order,' says Macaulay, 'was not yet formed; all was transition, confusion, obscurity. Everybody kept his head as he best might, and scrambled for whatever he could get.' This may serve as an explanation and a defence of many things that happened during the forty years that Clive and Hastings were in India, 1744–85.
- 15 **Orissa and Bahar**—two provinces connected with the Bengal Presidency. Bahar is rich in natural productions, having the Ganges flowing through it for 200 miles. Orissa lies farther south, nearer to the Bay of Bengal.
- 16 **the Court**—the King, his attendants, and chief officials.
- **the harem**—the apartments allotted to females in Eastern families; the females themselves.
- 19 **maris**—a contracted form of the word *markets*.
- 25 **Surajah Dowlah**—xv. 19, 20.
- 31 **Dutch Company**—xi. 6.
- 32 **Nabob** (a corruption of *Nazib*, or *Nazib*=deputy)—the deputy of the Nizam, who was the viceroy of the Mogul Emperor. When the Mogul Empire fell into decay, many of the Nabobs became quite independent, xiii. 10.

PAGE 9.

- 1 **cit'adel**—a fortress protecting a city.
- 4 **originated the greatness**—these events gave him the opportunity of achieving distinction.
- 5 **fugitive Governor**—of Calcutta, who had run away for safety.
- 11 **prisoner at large**—under detention, but not closely confined.
- 12 **diplomatic agent**—one who negotiates on behalf of a Government.
- 14 **the treason**—General Clive and two natives of position were plotting to dethrone Surajah Dowlah.
- 16 **deliberations**—meetings for forming and discussing plans.
- 23 **intrepid**—fearless.
- 25 **mercantile agent**—one who buys or sells goods for another.
- 32 **Plassey**—in Bengal, ninety-six miles from Calcutta, on the left bank of the river Hoogley. See 8. 2.
- **Meer Jaffier**—an officer in the army of Surajah Dowlah. He plotted with Clive to overthrow his master, and then reigned in his place. Clive supported him against the attacks of the Mogul Emperor. He died in 1765.

PAGE 10.

- 7 **administration**—government.
 8 **E. I. Company**—xi. 6.
 9 **effa'ced**—rubbed out, worn away [Lat. *ex*, out, and *facies*, face].
 11 **anom'alous** — not regular ; differing from established rule or custom.
 12 **functionaries**—officials ; persons in office.
 19 **inefficient** — ineffective ; not able to do what is required.
 23 **des'potism**—government by force, and without regard to the wishes of those governed.
 27 **ob'viously**—plainly.
 28 **convulsive burst**—a sudden outbreak.
 33 **dominant**—ruling ; having the chief power [Lat. *dominus*, a lord].

PAGE 11.

- 1 **ir'resist'ible**—not to be withstood.
 — **Bengalees**—the natives of Bengal.
 3 **demons**—strictly *wise beings*, a name applied by the Greeks to their gods ; now commonly used to denote evil spirits—devils. The word is used here to indicate that the power of Englishmen as much exceeded that of Bengalees, as the power of demons was supposed to exceed that of men.
 4 **clemency**—mercy ; mildness of disposition.
 5 **policy**—art of government. An enlarged policy is one which pays due regard to the interests of those who are governed.
 8 **English morality**—their English rulers did not show

- Englishmen's usual regard for justice and truth.
 17 **rotten boroughs** — towns in which bribery and corruption prevailed at parliamentary elections.
 18 **St. James's Square** — a fashionable part of London.
 33 **malev'olent**—malicious ; evilly disposed. [Lat. *malus*, evil, and *volentis*, wishing].
 — **scrutiny**—a careful search or inquiry.

PAGE 12.

- 2 **unparalleled**—unprecedented ; without another to match it for severity.
 3 **advanta'geous . . reputation** —increases his fame.
 11 **squeamish**—over-particular.
 — **pecuniary transactions** — money dealings.
 12 **sordid**—covetous ; mean and base in getting money.
 — **rapa'cious**—greedy of gain ; given to plunder.
 14 **buccaneer**—one of the old sea-robbers who used to attack the Spanish trading ships.
 — **galleon** — a large Spanish ship, formerly used in the American trade.
 17 **unscrupulous**—regardless of moral right.
 — **unprincipled**—without a fixed rule of good conduct, or sense of moral right.
 18 **statesman**—a ruler who promotes the public good.
 19 **freebooter**—a robber, seeking only his own interests. [Hastings built up an empire, while a freebooter would have built up his own private fortune. Compare 111. 2-15.]
 28 **usury**—interest for money lent ; generally it denotes unfairly high interest.

- 28 **But . . . together** — Persons who can give good security, or who are known to be rich, can borrow at a low rate of interest. To pay a high rate is to acknowledge that the security is bad, and the risk of loss great.

PAGE 13.

- 5 **liberal studies**—studies, especially of ancient languages, from a love of learning, and without reference to their commercial value.
- 13 **intellectual enjoyment** — pleasure of the mind.
- 18 **literature**—the learning, &c., to be found in books [Lat. *litera*, a letter].
- 22 **University of Oxford**—founded in 1247, contains a number of colleges, or schools of learning.
- **Oriental** belonging to the East, or sunrising; Asiatic.
- 23 **revival of letters**—the fresh interest taken in literature (especially Greek) about the year 1500.
- 25 **contemplated** — thought of; had in view.
- **endowment** —property given for the support of a college, a hospital, a church, or an individual.
- 26 **munificence** — liberality in giving [Lat. *munus*, a gift, and *facio*, I make].
- **Company**—the East India Company.
- 27 **Ha'fiz and Ferdu'si**—two Persian poets; Ferdusi, 940–1020, wrote 'Schah Nam'eh,' which means 'The Book of Kings.' Hafiz, who died in 1388, wrote 'The Divan.'
- 29 **Johnson, 1709–84**, a writer of essays, a critic, and a poet;

best known by his English Dictionary.

- 31 **literary reputation**—fame as a writer.

PAGE 14.

- 1 **talents**—natural abilities [derived from the Parable of the Talents, Matt. xxv., 14].
- **attainments**—acquired learning.
- 9 **pecuniary embarrassments**—money difficulties.
- **solicited**—asked.
- 10 **the Directors**—the Committee in London which managed the affairs of the East India Company.
- 11 **acceded to** — agreed to; granted.
- 12 **integ'rity**—honesty; uprightness.
- 13 **Madras**—a seaport town on the eastern coast of India; the capital of Madras Presidency; pop. 700,000; has a large commerce, it is defended by Fort Saint George. The English settled in Madras in 1639.
- 16 **appropriated**—set apart.
- 26 **pagoda** — a coin used in India, worth 8s. to 9s.
- 29 **Archangel**—a Russian seaport on the White Sea, near the Arctic circle.
- 30 **the Arctic circle**—a parallel of latitude $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees from the North Pole.
- **to play . . . queen**—as the wife of Hastings when he became Governor-General.
- 31 **tropic of Cancer**—a parallel of latitude $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north of the Equator; it crosses the middle of India.
- 32 **cultivated mind** — a mind greatly improved by study.

PAGE 15.

- 5 **propitious**—favourable; convenient.
 6 **Indiaman**—one of the old sailing ships trading to India.
 9 **monotony**—sameness; want of variety.
 10 **albatross**—the largest of sea-birds; mostly seen near South Africa.
 11 **resource**—means of relief; method of amusement.
 25 **deformity**—ugliness of person or conduct.
 — **heroic virtues**—the good qualities characteristic of heroes, as self-sacrifice, &c.
 26 **abject vices**—bad qualities of the meanest sort, as selfishness, cruelty, &c. [Virtues in beauty, vices in deformity.]
 32 **no domestic ties**—he was unmarried.

PAGE 16.

- 9 **most characteristic**—like the rest of his character.
 11 **not impetuous**—not headstrong; kept under control.
 13 **institute**—commence.
 14 **Franconia**—the name of a district in Germany, divided in 1806; the chief part was given to Bavaria.
 17 **substantial marks**—a large sum of money. 62. 23.
 — **complaisant**—obliging; desirous to please.
 22 **disorganised**—wanting system and order.
 25 **dividends**—profits divided amongst the shareholders of a company at stated periods.
 27 **investment**—the way in which their money was laid out in trade.

PAGE 17.

- 5 **negotiators**—those who transact business between states.

- 15 **facilitating**—making easy.
 18 **revolution**—a complete change in the government.
 19 **irrevocable**—not to be reversed or altered.
 21 **ostensible**—merely nominal.
 27 **constitutional check**—a provision made in the form of government, to check abuses; thus, the system of government in England provides that the people governed are free to choose by vote *who* shall govern them. 18, 26 note.
 29 **absolute**—without control; able to do as they pleased.
 30 **assumed the style**—taken the name.
 31 **territories**—districts of country [Lat. *terra*, the earth].
 — **vassals**—dependents.
 32 **Delhi** (pr. *del'-li*)—the name of a province and its capital on the Jumna, in the north of Hindostan; an important and magnificent city; for 200 years the seat of the Mogul Rulers of India. Its bazaars are crowded with the produce of North-Western India. It was captured by the English in 1803; lost for three months in 1857, during the Indian Mutiny, but gallantly retaken. Population about 200,000.
 — **revenues**—income of a State.
 33 **imperial commission**—a written order from the Emperor, or supreme power, at Delhi.

PAGE 18.

- 6 **public instruments**—proclamations, decrees, &c.
 12 **At present**—in 1841, the date of the Essay. Now the responsible person is the Secretary of State for India, whose office is in London.
 13 **executive measures**—plans

- for carrying into effect (executing) the laws.
- 16 **unanimous sense** — one opinion agreed to by all [Lat. *unus*, one, and *animus*, mind].
- 22 **Mr. Pitt, 1759–1806**, second son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; became Prime Minister of England, 1783. In 1784 he passed his India Bill, appointing the Board of Control. He was an able statesman in difficult times. He and his father are both buried in Westminster Abbey.
- 23 **Mr. Dundas, 1740–1811**, a Scotch advocate and statesman, who became first Viscount Melville. He assisted Pitt to pass the India Bill.
- 24 **Mr. Burke**—101. 1. note.
- 26 **representative constitution** — a system of government carried on by the freely chosen representatives of the people themselves. 17. 27.
- 29 **a casting vote**—a second vote used only when the other votes are equally divided for and against the motion.

PAGE 19.

- 8 **phraseology** — a particular way of using words.
- 10 **political**—belonging to the management of the affairs of a nation within its own borders.
- 11 **synonymous**—of the same meaning.
- **diplomatic** — belonging to the management of the affairs of a nation in its relations with other nations.
- 18 **delegated** — handed over; deputed.
- **great minister**—Mahommed Reza Khan.
- 24 **stipend**—salary; settled income.

- 25 **sterling**—in English money. [From *Easterlings*, men of the East,—the Hanse merchants who settled in London in time of Henry III.]

PAGE 20.

- 1 **lucrative**—profitable.
- 4 **conflicting pretensions** — claims opposing each other.
- 8 **Mus'sulman**—a believer in the Mahometan religion.
- 9 **extraction**—descent; parentage.
- 16 **competitor**—a rival; one striving for the same office as another [Lat. *com*, together, and *peto*, I seek].
- 16 **Brahmin**—an Indian of the highest or priestly caste (see 20. 28, note), whose principal duty is to teach the Vedas (sacred books). Brahma is the name of their chief god.
- 18 **inseparably associated**—always found together.
- 19 **Mahara'jah Nuncomar** — Maharajah means *great rajah*, and *rajah* was the title given to a native prince; his dominion was termed *raj*.
- 23 **Caste**—one of the four classes into which the Hindoos are divided; the Brahmins or priests, the soldier caste, the commercial or trading caste, and the agricultural caste. As a rule, a person remains for life in the caste in which he was born, marries a person of the same caste, and so on.

PAGE 21.

- 1 **The Bengalee** is a smaller man than the Hindoo, of less physical strength and courage, and unable to compete with him in bodily exercises. The

- Hindoo is similarly inferior in physique to the Italian, and the Italian to the Englishman. In dealing with Englishmen, the Bengalee tries to compass by tact and cunning what he cannot get by force. 110. 1-5.
- 2 **physical organisation**—the bodily structure.
- 3 **effem'inacy**—unmanly weakness; womanishness.
- 4 **vapour bath**—the Ganges valley is as noted for its moistness as for its heat. A vapour bath is very useful in some cases, but to *live* in a vapour bath is very weakening.
- **sed'entary**—requiring much sitting; not admitting of much bodily exercise.
- 5 **languid**—feeble; faint.
- 8 **veracity**—truthfulness.
- 12 **suppleness**—the quality of being easily bent; pliability.
- **tact**—delicacy of touch; the faculty of saying the best word or doing the fittest thing just at the right moment.
- 13 **sterner climates**—colder countries.
- 16 **Ionian**—an inhabitant of Ionia, once the most flourishing province of Asia Minor. The people were wealthy, refined, and even luxurious.
- 17 **Ju'venal**—A.D. 30-100, the last of the Roman poets; he wrote severely against the vices and follies of the Romans of his time.
- **Jew . . . ages**—From A.D. 500 to 1500 the Jews were cruelly treated in Christian countries, being robbed, mutilated, and, in many cases, murdered.
- 21 **elaborate . . . falsehood**—a collection of lies carefully arranged, about events that never happened.
- 22 **chica'nery** . (*shiz*)—artifice; mean tricks to keep the truth from being made clear.
- **per'jury**—false swearing.
- 23 **forgery**—an imitation for the purpose of cheating, as of a signature, letter, or bank-note.
- 25 **se'poy**—a native Indian soldier in the British service.
- 26 **u'surers**—those who lend money at interest.
- 29 **pla'cable**—willing to forgive; easily made friendly.
- 30 **prone**—inclined.
- **pertinac'ity**—firm purpose; steady perseverance.
- **adheres'**—sticks to.
- 33 **inev'itable**—that cannot be avoided.

PAGE 22.

- 1 **passive fortitude**—power to suffer with patient firmness.
- 2 **Stoics**—a sect of Greek philosophers founded by Zeno, who taught that men should be free from passion, and should face both the joys and sorrows of life with indifference.
- **ideal sage**—Zeno, who was regarded by his followers as a perfectly wise man.
- 10 **Mu'cius**—A Roman remarkable for valour and fortitude. He is said to have laid his right hand on an altar of burning coals, looked steadily at King Porsenna, who was then laying siege to Rome, and boldly told him that 300 young Romans had determined to take his life if he persisted in attacking the city. Porsenna made peace with the Romans and retired.
- 12 **even pulse**—the blood beating regularly through his veins; not excited.
- **Algernon Sidney, 1622-83,**

republican and patriot; was one of the judges at the trial of Charles I.; wrote 'Discourses concerning Government'; was accused of taking part in the Rye House Plot against Charles II.; was found guilty before Judge Jefferies, although the evidence was defective, and was beheaded on Tower Hill. He died with perfect composure.

- 14 **exaggeration** [-*aj*]-heaping up; intensification.
 — **personified**—made into a person: Nuncomar seemed to be made up of cunning and deceit.
 16 **intrigues** (pr. *in-treegr*)—secret plots and schemes.
 18 **to substantiate**—to prove by good evidence.
 22 **medium of a correspondence**—the person by whom letters were taken to and fro.
 24 **Carnatic**—7. 37, note.

PAGE 23.

- 12 **stimulated**—stirred or excited to action.
 — **cupidity**—an eager desire for wealth; covetousness.
 14 **reputation**—good name; public character.
 17 **surplus**—over and above what is wanted [Fr. *sur*, over, and *plus*, more].
 — **anticipated**—expected.
 20 **porphyry**—a hard and costly kind of stone.
 20 **brocade**—cloth embroidered with gold, silver, or silk, in raised work of flowers, &c.
 22 **mo'hur**—a gold coin worth about 30s. to 33s.

PAGE 24.

- 1 **Lords . . Treasury**—states-

men who manage the money department of the State.

- 4 **proprietors**—shareholders in the East India Company.
 17 **partisan**—a person strongly in favour of a particular party.
 18 **to institute**—to commence; to set in operation.
 21 **investigation**—a careful inquiry or examination.
 24 **conjunction**—several causes or events coming together [Lat. *con*, together, and *junctum*, joined].

PAGE 25.

- 2 **hostility**—unfriendliness; enmity [*hostis*, an enemy].
 4 **alacrity**—a smart willingness.
 7 **double government**—the supreme government by the English, and the inferior government by a native prince, both existing at the same time. The native government Hastings decided to abolish.
 14 **battalion**—a body of soldiers 500 to 800 in number, but less than a regiment.
 16 **gravity**—seriousness.
 18 **Schitab** (pr. *She-tawb*).
 22 **Patna**—a town on the right bank of the Ganges; has important manufactories of chintzes; sends large quantities of saltpetre to Calcutta; population 284,000.
 32 **intimation**—hint; notice.

PAGE 26.

- 17 **Munny Begum** (pr. *Bā-gum*)—an Indian lady related to Meer Jaffier. Warren Hastings was accused of receiving bribes from her.
 27 **rigour**—harshness; severity.

PAGE 27.

- 11 **invet'erate**—deep-rooted.
 — **rancour**—hatred.
 22 **impla'cably**—constantly ; bitterly.
 23 **ardently**—warmly and eagerly.
 26 **vindictive**—spiteful ; revengeful.

PAGE 28.

- 15 **pre'datory**—plundering ; robbing.
 — **Tev'iotdale**—the valley of the river Teviot, in the south of Scotland.
 16 **ere**—before ; sooner than.
 17 **fundamental**—belonging to the foundation ; essential.
 — **proposition**—statement.
 18 **lac**=100,000. A gold rupee is worth about 29s., the silver rupee from 1s. 8d. to 2s.
 27 **enjoined or applauded**—commanded or praised.
 30 **code**—a written system.
 — **ethics**—the science of duty.
 32 **nul'lified**—made nothing of ; made of no effect.
 26 **le'niently**—mildly not severely.

PAGE 29.

- 8 **heretic**—one who holds religious opinions contrary to those taught by the Church.
 17 **vicegerent** (pr. -jé'-)—a lieutenant ; one who rules for another—Hastings.
 24 **pecu'niary requisitions**—demands for money.

PAGE 30.

- 7 **Corah and Allahabad**—two provinces near the junction of the Jumna and Ganges.
 9 **others**—the Mahrattas.

- 10 **retract these concessions**—refuse to pay what he had promised.
 23 **assump'tion**—a taking to one's self—in this case, of a royal title [Lat. *ad*, to, and *sumptus*, taken].
 25 **monstrous impi'ety**—a shocking irreverence.
 27 **appella'tion**—name or title.
 28 **Viz'ier** (pr. *vis'-yer*)—Prime Minister ; the usual title of the chief Minister of the Sultan of Turkey, but here used of the nominal Minister of the Mogul.
 29 **Electors . . . Brandenburg**—the rulers of two provinces of Germany ; they were called Electors because they each had a vote in electing the Emperor of Germany.
 32 **Grand Chamberlain, &c.**—officers of State who attend to the ceremonies of the Court, and the wants of the King's household.

PAGE 31.

- 19 **passes**—narrow, difficult roads across a mountain range.
 20 **ante'rior**—before.
 — **dawn . . history**—the earliest time of which we have reliable information.
 21 **rich . . Sanscrit**—Sanskrit, the ancient language of India, and the foundation of the modern Hindoo dialects. The sacred books of the Hindoos are in Sanscrit.
 23 **Hypha'sis and Hystas'pes**—the Sutlej and the Jelum, two tributaries of the Indus.

PAGE 32.

- 3 **Cross . . George**—a red cross on a white ground. Saint

- George is the patron saint of England.
- 4 **Ghizni** (pr. *gis'-ne*)—a strong fortress in Afghanistan, taken by the English in 1839.
- 6 **mountain ridge**—Hindoo Koosh mountains.
- 11 **Cabul' and Candahar'**—two chief towns in Afghanistan.
- 12 **conspic'uous**—clearly seen; distinguished.
- 14 **fiefs . . spear** (pr. *feefs*)—lands given in consideration of military service.
- 15 **anal'ogous**—similar; parallel.
- 17 **Kuma'on**—a province lying near the source of the Ganges, close to the Himalayas; taken by the English in 1815.
- 18 **Ganges**—the most celebrated river of Hindostan. It rises in the Himalaya Mountains, and flows for 1,500 miles, through the North-West Provinces, Benares, Bahar, and Bengal. Its stream is smooth and deep; on its way it receives eleven streams, larger than the Thames; the great cities of Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Oude, Allahabad, Benares, Patna, and Calcutta belong to the Ganges valley. The natives regard it as sacred.
- 20 **virtually**—in effect, but not in name; really.
- 24 **an'archy**—lawless confusion [Gr. *a*, without, and *arche*, government].
- 28 **rhet'oric**—the art of speaking so as to please and convince.
- 31 **Rohil'cund, or Rohilla**—a province lying north-west of Oude, in Northern India. The Rohillas were not the population of the country, but a conquering aristocracy, like the Normans in England.
- 32 **Sujah Dowlah**, Vizier of Oude from 1754 to 1775. He must not be confused with Surajah Dowlah, of Bengal.

PAGE 33.

- 2 **Catherine to Poland, 1729-96**, Empress of Russia, who, with the rulers of Prussia and Austria, stole the kingdom of Poland, without the shadow of a righteous claim.
- 3 **Bonaparte . . Spain**—In 1808 Napoleon Bonaparte sent 80,000 soldiers to seize Spain. His brother Joseph was made king.
- 9 **but . . Afghanistan**—the Afghans are a fierce and warlike race.
- 19 **Cauca'sian tribes**—the Rohillas and Afghans, supposed to have come from Mount Caucasus. [The term 'Caucasian' belongs to a classification of races generally accepted when this Essay was written, but now regarded as obsolete. ix. 1-3.]
- 21 **martial ardour**—warlike spirit.
- 22 **avail aught**—be of any use.
- 24 **irresistible**—not to be resisted; that is, by the people of India.
- **energy**—power to do work.
- 25 **imperial people**—the English.
- 28 **frantic**—furious but useless.
- **fanat'icism**—mad and passionate religious feeling.
- 29 **sedate**—calm; the opposite of frantic.

PAGE 34.

- 3 **remittances**—money sent to a distant place [Lat. *re*, back, and *mitto*, I send].
- 5 **sub'jugating**—bringing under control.
- 10 **defraying**—paying.

- 14 **stig'matised as in'famous**—branded as shameful and wicked.
 22 **ex'ecrably**—hatefully.
 26 **hussar-mongers**—dealers in horse-soldiers.
 29 **confor'mity**—agreement.
 32 **stip'ulate**—bargain; contract.

PAGE 35.

- 1 **cov'enanted**—agreed to in writing.
 2 **atro'ciously**—very cruelly.
 3 **guarantee**—pledge; security.
 7 **Major Scott**—an agent for Warren Hastings in London; at one time a major in the Bengal Army.
 12 **expul'sion**—a driving out [Lat. *ex*, out of, and *pulsus*, driven].
 14 **Did contend?**—Ought the English, themselves invaders, to argue?
 16 **ca'put lupi'num**—[Lat.] a wolfish head, meaning here, a greedy invader.
 21 **hypoc'risy . . apology**—insincerity of the excuse.
 23 **brigade**—a body of soldiers composed of several regiments.
 25 **expos'tulated**—remonstrated; reasoned with earnestness.

PAGE 36.

- 5 **dastardly**—cowardly.
 16 **allies'**—friends; helpers.
 22 **pestilential jungles**—low, densely wooded lands where rotting matter causes malaria, which gives rise to cholera, &c.
 25 **lucre**—ill-gotten gain; money.
 32 **forty lacs**—half a million pounds sterling.
 33 **wanton barbarity**—needless cruelty.

PAGE 37.

- 2 **del'icacy**—tender consideration.
 3 **biographer**—one who writes the history of a person's life—here Mr. Gleig [Gr. *bios*, life, and *grapho*, I write].
 4 **dictate to**—command.
 6-13 **No—violated**—a passage of fine irony; *irony* is a form of language in which the *meaning* is quite opposed to the *words*.
 15 **voluntarily**—of one's own free will.
 16 **order**—care; precaution.
 23 **languished**—wasted away; declined.
 29 **chivalrous**—gallant; bold.
 33 **cold steel**—bayonet or sword.

PAGE 38.

- 4 **propri'ety**—fitness.
 26 **a measure**—a Bill submitted to Parliament.
 28 **Act**—When a Bill has passed the Houses of Parliament and received the Royal assent, it is called an 'Act' of Parliament.

PAGE 39.

- 1 **ju'dicature**—justice. It sometimes means power of dispensing justice.
 4 **civil**—relating to business disputes, not to crimes.
 — **criminal**—relating to crimes: murder, theft, &c.
 — **jurisdiction**—legal authority; extent of a judge's power.
 6 **undefined**—not marked out.
 16 **Sir Philip Francis, 1740–1818**, statesman and author; supposed author of 'Letters of Junius,' published in the 'Public Advertiser' newspaper 1769–72; these letters were so

bitter against the Government, and so powerfully written, that everybody was set guessing who the author could be.

- 18 **eloquence**—the power of expressing thought in striking and beautiful language.
 23 **extravagantly** — unreasonably; beyond what was just.
 — **irritable**—easily fretted, or moved to anger.
 24 **deportment** — conduct; behaviour.
 — **petulant**—saucy; capitious.

PAGE 40.

- 2 **adverting**—turning to; referring to. [Lat. *ad*, to, and *verto*, I turn.]
 12 **technical** (pr. *tek*)—belonging to a particular art, science, or profession.
 13 **Secretary of State**—one of five chief ministers of the State.
 16 **debate**—discussion of a Bill.
 18 **Lord Chatham** — William Pitt, 1708–78, one of England's greatest statesmen. He carried on with great energy and success a war against France. He was strongly opposed to the taxation of the American colonists, but also equally unwilling to grant them independence as the United States. He fell down in a fit of apoplexy while making a great speech in the House of Lords against American independence. His grave and monument are in Westminster Abbey. See also note to page 18 line 22.
 20 **deputy**—a person appointed to act for another.
 28 **resentment**—a feeling of

anger caused by a sense of injury or insult.

PAGE 41.

- 3 **circumstantial evidence**—proofs derived indirectly from things or events, and not obtained from eye-witnesses.
 4 **internal evidence** — proofs found in the letters themselves.
 9 **anonymous**—not bearing the name of the writer.
 10 **argument from inferiority**—it is argued by some that Francis could not have written the clever letters of Junius, because his acknowledged writings are so poor in comparison; so, says Macaulay, are those of every other person of the time except Burke, and no one believes Burke to be the author. Every one has a *best* work, and the letters are the best work of Sir Philip Francis.
 21 **Corneille** (*-nayl*) — 1606–84, A French dramatist.
 — **tragedies** — dramatic representations of strong passion or misfortune.
 22 **Ben Jonson**, 1574–1637, a leading English dramatist, and a friend of Shakespeare's.
 — **comedies**—dramas describing the lighter passions and follies of mankind.
 24 **Bunyan, John**, 1628–88, a Baptist minister; wrote his 'Pilgrim's Progress' in Bedford Gaol.
 25 **Cervan'tes** (*tees*)—1547–1616, the finest Spanish novelist.
 29 **Horne Tooke**, 1736–1812, a clergyman and politician; wrote a work on language, 'The Diversions of Purley.'

- 30 **asperity**—harshness of manner.
 — **ingre'dient**—one part of a mixture.

PAGE 42.

- 1 **moral resemblance**—likeness of motives and conduct.
 5 **Woodfall**, 1745-1803, a printer and Parliamentary reporter; was prosecuted for publishing Junius's Letters.
 7 **destitute**—quite wanting in.
 — **pa'triotism**—love and devotion to one's country.
 9 **arrogant**—overbearing in conduct.
 10 **insolent**—very rude.
 11 **malevolence**—ill-will; bad feeling.
 12 **Doest . . . angry?**—a question put to Jonah outside Nineveh, Jonah iv. 9.
 15 **attrib'ute**—impute; ascribe.
 18 **self-delusion**—error; misleading one's self.
 — **confounds . . . duties**—believes that what he dislikes is what he ought to dislike.
 20 **democratic**—belonging to the great mass of the people. [Gr. *demos*, the people, and *crateo*, I am strong, I reign.]
 23 **literary warfare**—disputes carried on in writing.
 26 **Old Sarum**—a small place in Wiltshire adjoining Salisbury, which returned a member to Parliament until the 1832 Reform Bill passed, although only one farmhouse conferred the right to vote.
 — **contemptuously**—scornfully; rudely.
 27 **capitalists**—wealthy men engaged in trade.
 29 **freeholders**—those who *hold* estates free of duty except to the king. A freehold of 40s.

a year conferred a vote in parliamentary elections.

PAGE 43.

- 4 **George Grenville**, 1712-70, statesman and Prime Minister; he commenced the prosecution of John Wilkes.
 6 **ministerial benches**—seats on the right hand of the Speaker, occupied by supporters of the Government.
 7 **ferment**—agitation; disturbance.
 — **Middlesex election**—John Wilkes was elected for Middlesex in 1768, but was refused admission to Parliament. After being three times elected, and after agitation and riots, he was allowed to take his seat in 1774.
 8 **faction**—a party causing discord.
 9 **aversion**—dislike.
 10 **Ministry**—the chief servants of the State, who have the responsibility of government.
 11 **Opposition**—those members of Parliament who oppose the Ministry of the time.
 13 **misanthropical**—having hatred of mankind.

PAGE 44.

- 2 **inns of court**—four law societies or colleges in London, viz, the Inner Temple, the Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn.
 5 **obse'quious**—obedient; compliant.
 7 **coadju'tors**—assistants; the new councillors and judges.
 8 **punctilious**—nice; exact; extremely particular.

- 15 **that long quarrel**—for 21 years, from 1774–95.
 29 **creature**—a being without a will of his own; one who simply carries out instructions.

PAGE 45.

- 1 **indiscreet**—imprudent; unwise.
 2 **subordinate presidencies**—Bombay and Madras.
 4 **incredible**—difficult of belief; astonishing.
 5 **intestine disputes**—quarrels within, amongst themselves.
 — **Mahrattas**—the most warlike people of the Hindoo race. They lived chiefly in the mountainous regions of Central India. When the great Mogul Aurungzebe died, the Mahrattas rebelled against their Mahometan conquerors and became independent over a large part of India. After four severe struggles with the English, they finally yielded in 1818. Their chief leaders were Sevajee, the Bonslas, the Guicowar, Holkar, and Scindia.
 8 **fiscal system**—the method of gathering the taxes and spending the money of a nation.
 — **judicial system**—the method by which the laws are put in force.
 14 **impunity**—freedom from punishment.
 24 **patronage**—the power of bestowing office, or privilege.
 31 **sycophants**—flatterers; tale-bearers; parasites.
 32 **to pander**—to pimp; to act as agent in evil designs.

PAGE 46.

- 5 **depositions**—statements of

evidence written down and signed.

- 6 **mendacity**—falsehood; lying.
 8 **coun'terfeited**—imitated or copied with intent to deceive.
 9 **illegal compact**—an unlawful agreement.
 — **treasonable paper**—a paper containing plans for overthrowing the Government.
 18 **to countenance**—to favour; to approve of.
 21 **Oates, Bedloe, and Dangerfield**—three wretches who in the years 1677–79 pretended to have discovered terrible plots by Catholics against the English Government.
 22 **Westminster Hall**. 137. 18, note.
 25 **juncture**—a joining; a time when several important events happen together.
 26 **malignity**—bitter hatred.
 — **avarice**—an eager desire to get wealth.
 27 **ambition**—an eager desire for power, fame, or excellence.
 28 **to wreak a grudge**—to revenge a quarrel.

PAGE 47.

- 11 **altercation**—wrangling; dispute in words.
 19 **tempestuous**—stormy; angry.
 22 **investigation**—a careful inquiry or search.

PAGE 48.

- 1 **supplement**—a further supply to make complete.
 5 **purporting**—professing; showing by what it carries.
 13 **attestation**—signature in proof of its being genuine.
 21 **courtesy of demeanour** (*ker'-*)—politeness of conduct.

- 30 **appeal**—a power of transferring a cause to a superior judge.

PAGE 49.

- 3 **ascertained**—made certain; established.
 4 **adverse to**—opposed to; against.
 7 **levee** (*lev'-i*)—an assembly of visitors received by some important person.
 9 **condescended to repair**—showed the favour of paying a visit.
 12 **whedding**—enticing by soft words and pleasant promises.
 27 **gibbet** (*jib'*)—the gallows where criminals are hanged.

PAGE 50.

- 1 **hostile**—unfriendly; opposed to.
 3 **formidable machinery**—powerful agency; the independent power of the judges of the Supreme Court.
 6 **fel'ony**—an offence punishable with forfeiture of land or goods; any serious offence.
 8 **bond**—a written promise entitling the possessor to receive certain benefits.
 10 **biographers excepted**—a cutting remark referring to Mr. Gleig, who did not believe that Hastings took this bold step.
 14 **admitted to bail**—set free until the trial took place, on security being given by bondsmen for his appearance then.
 18 **emol'uments**—salary; profits.
 19 **assizes**—law courts held periodically by the chief judges, to try persons charged with serious offences.
 20 **a true bill**—the grand jury

declared there was sufficient evidence to warrant a trial.

- 24 **interpreted**—translated.
 — **protracted**—drew out; delayed.

PAGE 51.

- 1 **res'pited**—reprieved; postponed the execution of the sentence.
 5 **technical . . construction**—the interpretation of law as given by lawyers.
 — **statute**—written law; Act of Parliament.
 8 **capital**—punishable by death. [*Lat. caput*, the head.]
 12 **delin'quents**—those who fail in their duty; offenders.
 25 **adherents**—supporters; followers.

PAGE 52.

- 16 **inherited**—received by birth.
 18 **superstitious**—full of idle fancies; believing through fear or ignorance.
 21 **dark ages or middle ages**—the period from about A.D. 500 to 1500; so called on account of the ignorance which then prevailed.
 — **prel'ate**—a bishop.
 22 **sec'ular tribu'nal**—a court of law over which the Church has no power.
 30 **exulta'tion**—great rejoicing.
 33 **aggrava'ting**—making worse.

PAGE 53.

- 10 **sheriff, shire-reeve**—the chief law officer of a county.
 15 **unaltered composure**—his usual calmness.
 27 **concourse**—crowd.
 33 **palanquin' (-keen)**—a covered conveyance for one person, carried on the shoulders of men.

PAGE 54.

- 3 **contortions**—sudden and violent movements of parts of the body expressive of pain or grief.
 4 **appalled**—made pale with terror.
 5 **iron stoicism**—utter indifference to joy and sorrow. 22, note.
 19 **Dacca**—once the capital of Bengal, 150 miles N.E. of Calcutta.
 24 **rational**—able to reason.

PAGE 55.

- 1 **deliberate**—well-considered; thoughtful.
 7 **rancorous**—spiteful; malicious.
 8 **colleagues**—fellow-officers.
 10 **legitimate**—lawful; fair.
 13 **sages**—wise men; judges.
 15 **adversaries**—opponents; enemies.
 17 **a party**—means here a faction.
 18 **unbending equity**—strict justice or impartiality.
 24 **at stake**—at hazard; liable to be lost.
 26 **dispensers of justice**—the judges who had sworn to deal out justice without fear or favour.
 27 **analogous**—similar; parallel.
 28 **Lord Stafford**—A Catholic nobleman, beheaded in 1680, on a charge of treason made by Titus Oates.
 29 **Tower**—a splendid old fortress in London, dating from 1070.
 30 **Popish plot**—46. 21, note.
 30 **apprised**—informed.
 31 **questionable construction**—an interpretation which is open question; a doubtful reading.

PAGE 56.

- 3 **intercept**—cut short; to stop or seize on the way.
 9 **materially**—in an important sense.
 11 **attributed to Hastings**.—It is right to state that Nuncomar handed a petition against being hanged to Clavering, and Clavering kept it from the Council. The death of Nuncomar cannot therefore with justice be laid exclusively to the charge of Hastings.
 14 **profound policy**—a deep scheme; a plan of action showing deep thought.
 15 **in a minority**—supported by less than half the members.
 19 **under the frown of power**—in disfavour with the rulers.

PAGE 57.

- 12 **beating the jungle**—striking bushes to start wild animals.
 24 **Tour . . Hebrides**—a book published in 1773 by Dr. Johnson.
 25 **Jones's Persian Grammar**—a work published in 1771 by Sir William Jones, a famous Asiatic scholar.
 — **traditions**—information passed from father to son by word of mouth, and not committed to writing.

PAGE 58.

- 9 **illicit**—unlawful; unjust.
 15 **would . . win**—would not be the actual wrong-doer, yet would receive eagerly enough the money to be gained by wrong-doing. *Macbeth*, I. v. 20.
 20 **Lord North, 1732–92**, statesman, at this time Prime Minister.

- 24 **Parliamentary connection**—members of Parliament who were his friends.

PAGE 59.

- 2 **Court of Proprietors**—general meeting of shareholders.
 3 **convened**—called together.
 7 **Lord Sandwich**, John Montagu, 1718–92, a statesman and diplomatist.
 — **marshalled**—brought them up to the meeting.
 8 **dexterity**—skill; cleverness.
 9 **alertness**—watchfulness; readiness.
 — **privy councillors**—statesmen and others who are selected to advise the sovereign. They are called *privy* because they are sworn to secrecy.
 13 **ballot**—a secret form of voting. [Fr. *balotte*, a little ball used for voting.]
 16 **the Cabinet**—the chief ministers of state, twelve or more in number, who are responsible for the government.
 17 **exasperated**—made extremely angry.
 19 **to convoke**—to call together. [Lat. *con*, together; *vocare*, to call.]
 25 **imminent**—close at hand; ready to fall.
 26 **branded . . . censure**—publicly disgraced by the condemnation of the Commons.
 28 **Crown lawyers**—The Lord Chancellor, the Attorney-General, and the Solicitor-General, who advise the Government on difficult questions of law.

PAGE 60.

- 2 **scrupulous**—very particular.
 6 **exercise the functions**—perform the duties.

- 15 **absolute**—all-powerful; independent.

- 16 **retaliate**—to pay back injury for injury; to treat them as they had treated him.

- 26 **subsidiary alliances**—hitherto our alliances had been with the Mogul; now Hastings thought of making alliances with the viceroys, who were to recognise the English as the supreme rulers, and pay them tribute.

- 27 **Be'rar**—a province of Central India lying between the rivers Tapti and Penganga; a fine cotton-growing district; belongs to the Nizam's dominions, but is managed by British governors.

- 28 **paramount**—chief; highest.

PAGE 61.

- 13 **inval'id**—of no force or weight; unsound.

- 15 **null**—of no force; void.

- 27 **plausible**—apparently fair; looking well on the outside.

PAGE 62.

- 12 **usurpa'tion**—unlawful seizure of office or property.

- 19 **acquies'ced in**—yielded or submitted to.

- 24 **Saxony**—a State in the east of Germany.

- 26 **conspicuous**—eminent; distinguished.

- 29 **chronicler**—one who records events as they occur.

PAGE 63.

- 4 **mortification**—vexation at his defeat.

- 15 **fearful dangers**—England was engaged in war with the American Colonies, with France, Spain, and Holland.

- 21 **crisis**—the turning point in any affair; decisive moment.
— **formidable**—terrible; dreadful.

PAGE 64.

- 7 **vigour** . . **George II.**—especially while Pitt was Premier. Canada was taken from the French at this time.
13 **just discontents**—Ireland having been harshly governed.
15 **armed** . . **Baltic**—the union of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark in 1780 to oppose the right claimed by England to search their ships.
— **neutrality**—state of neither friendship nor hostility. But they were armed and ready to fight if England persisted.
16 **maritime supremacy**—acknowledged superiority at sea.
— **jeopardy**—danger; peril.
18 **Straits of Calpe**—now called the Straits of Gibraltar.
18 **flag**—the power of Britain as represented by its flag.

PAGE 65.

- 1 **Sevajee**, 1627–80, founder of the Mahratta sovereignty in India; he fought successfully against the whole power of the Great Mogul Empire, and was acknowledged as Rajah by Aurungzebe in 1667.
4 **conspicuous**—easily seen; eminent.
5 **generated**—brought into life; produced.
 decaying monarchy—the Mogul Empire.
6 **principalities**—territories ruled by princes, or which give title to princes.
11 **me'nial**—suited to a servant.

- 12 **Bonslas**—one of the great Mahratta families of princes, finally conquered in 1817.
13 **Guicowar**—(*gi-kwar*) a northern Mahratta prince.
15 **dynasty**—a line of kings all of one family.
— **Guzerat**—a maritime province of western India; capital, Baroda; became subject to England in 1817.
16 **Scindia and Holkar**—two great northern Mahratta rulers. Scindia was descended from a shepherd, and Holkar from a slipper-bearer. They acknowledged the Mogul Emperor at Delhi, but they were practically independent. They were finally overthrown by the English in 1804.
— **Malwa**—a district comprising several small states, between the Aravulli Hills and Bundelcund.
18 **impregnable**—that cannot be taken by force.
— **Gooti**—a cluster of fortified hills in Bellary district, N. of Mysore.
20 **Tanjore**—a province of S. E. India.
21 **double government**—the real government by the viceroys, viziers, &c., and the merely nominal government of the old dynasties of Tamerlane and Sevajee.
25 **Nizam**—The title of the native sovereign of Hyderabad. Nizam-ul-mulk, after the death of Aurungzebe, obtained possession of the Mahometan conquests in the Deccan, and his successors assumed his name as a title.
26 **viceroys**—one who governs in place of a king.
— **Tamerlane, or Timour**, 1336–1405, the great Tartar conquer-

- or who entered India in 1398 ; by his vigour and cruelty he laid the foundations of that Great Mogul Empire in India which his descendants, Baber and Akbar, more fully developed.
- 30 **roi faineant** (*rwah fa-na-ong*) [Fr.]—a lazy king.
- 31 **bang**—an intoxicating drug made from wild hemp.
- 32 **Satta'ra**—a strongly fortified place 115 miles S.E. of Bombay.
- **Peshwa**—the chief minister of a Mahratta prince.

PAGE 66.

- 1 **Poonah**—a city of Aurungabad, 80 miles S.E. of Bombay, formerly the capital of the Western Mahrattas.
- 3 **Aurangabad**—a city N.E. of Bombay ; the favourite residence of Aurungzebe ; near the town are the marvellous cave-temples of Ellora, cut out of the solid rock.
- **Bejapoor**—a mountainous province of the Deccan, S.E. from Bombay.
- 10 **Lewis the Sixteenth**, 1754-93, King of France, was beheaded at the time of the great French Revolution.
- 17 **espouse**—maintain ; defend.
- 24 **consul**—a person appointed to live in a foreign country, to watch over the interests of his own country in that place.
- 24 **Cairo** (*kī-ro*) — capital of Egypt, on the river Nile.
- 29 **Pondicherry** (*-sher'-*)—a town on the Carnatic coast, 86 miles S. of Madras ; it is one of the few possessions of the French in India ; was taken by the English in 1760, and restored to the French in 1815.

PAGE 67.

- 1 **corps** (*kore*) [Fr.]—a body.
- 2 **lascars** — native seamen of India.
- 11 **procrastinated**—delayed ; put off action.
- 24 **Sir Eyre Coote**, 1726-83, a successful Irish general.
- 26 **council of war**—a meeting of the principal officers of an army with their general, to decide upon the course of action. The council referred to here was the only one the great Clive ever called ; and he afterwards declared that had he followed the advice of the majority, the English would never have become masters of Bengal.
- 32 **Lally, Thomas Arthur**, 1702-66, an Irishman who entered the French army ; defeated at Wandewash ; taken prisoner at the siege of Pondicherry in 1760. On his return to France he was tried and beheaded.
- 33 **Wandewash** — a fortified place in the Carnatic lying between Madras and Pondicherry.

PAGE 68.

- 6 **capricious**—changeable ; not to be relied on.
- 15 **unrivalled**—unequaled.
- 17 **Porto Novo**—81. 28, note.
- 18 **Pollilore** — a village S.W. of Madras, where Sir Eyre Coote defeated Hyder Ali in 1781.
- 21 **print**—a printed portrait.
- 24 **salam** (*sa-lahm'*) — 'Peace !' the Eastern form of greeting.
- 26 **obeisance** (*-bā-*) — bow ; movement of the body to express respect.

- 31 **ssiduous courtship**—constant attention in order to gain favour.
 32 **exorbitant allowances**—excessive grants of money.

PAGE 69.

- 8 **co-operate**—work together.
 15 **com'pact**—formal agreement.
 19 **emoluments**—profits.
 21 **apparent**—in appearance only.
 24 **men'aced**—threatened

PAGE 70.

- 22 **dilatory**—slow; inclined to delay.
 25 **advocate**—one whose office it is to plead the cause of a suitor in a court of law.
 31 **be banished, &c.**—go to live in a foreign land, and especially in such a trying climate as that of India.
 32 **torrid zone**—the hottest part of the earth's surface, extending $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees on each side of the equator.

PAGE 71.

- 1 **barrister**—a lawyer qualified to plead in the higher courts by being called to the bar.
 2 **thermometer**—an instrument for measuring temperatures. The mean annual temperature of Calcutta is 79 degrees; of Bombay, 78; of Madras, 82; at London it is 51.
 6 **fees**—payments for services performed; lawyers' fees are meant here.
 13 **innova'tion**—change; the introduction of English law into India.
 14 **arrest on mesne-process**

(*meen*)—arrest during the progress of an action.

- 18 **a Quaker**—a member of a religious body called the 'Society of Friends'; first called 'Quakers' reproachfully by Justice Bennet of Derby, in 1650, because George Fox, their founder, did 'bid them tremble at the word of the Lord.' They are opposed in conscience to oath-taking, believing that *Yes* and *No* are enough for honest men, and all the oaths possible not enough for liars.
 20 **woman of quality**—one of the upper classes.
 22 **intolerable outrages**—shameful treatment not to be endured.
 24 **expiated**—atoned for.
 27 **jurisprudence**—the science or system of laws.

PAGE 72.

- 5 **Wat Tyler**—a working man of Kent, who, in the year 1380, struck a tax-collector dead for an intolerable insult to one of his children. He afterwards became the leader of a rebellion, but was slain by the Lord Mayor of London.
 7 **jurisdiction**—the right to exercise authority.
 9 **terror . . mystery**—fear on account of what was being done, increased by dread uncertainty as to what worse things might follow.
 21 **informers**—men who volunteer evidence for the sake of gain.
 22 **barrators**—wranglers; men who incite others to go to law.
 — **chicane**—art of protracting a contest by petty objection and artifice; trickery and deceit.

- 23 **banditti**—a gang of robbers; brigands.
 — **bailiff**—a sheriff's officer; one who seizes property or arrests persons by law.
 24 **retainers**—servants who had to fight, amongst other duties.
 — **sponging-houses**—the houses of bailiffs, to which debtors were taken before commitment to prison, and where the bailiffs *sponged* upon them, or rioted at their cost.
 33 **extortioners**—those who wrest property by violence or injustice.

PAGE 73.

- 1 **gripe**—grasping hold.
 — **alguazils** (*al-ga-zeels*)—a Spanish, originally a Moorish, term for the lowest officers of justice.
 21 **ravenous pettifoggers**—greedy lawyers employed in the smallest, meanest business.
 28 **catchpoles**, or **catchpolls**—bum-bailiffs.

PAGE 74.

- 15 **the Government, &c.**—Hastings and his Council prevented the harsh decisions of the Supreme Court from being executed upon the people.
 17 **to the wildest excesses**—beyond all bounds of right or reason, law or common sense.
 19 **writ**—a summons.
 28 **expedient**—plan or scheme; that which suits one's purpose.

PAGE 75.

- 12 **in/famous**—notoriously vile; of bad character.

- 14 **of a piece with**—just like; in agreement with.
 16—**English ermine**—the office of an English judge. Ermine is the white fur used for the robes of judges; it denotes the purity that should distinguish judges.
 17 **Jefferies**, 1648–89, a brutal and unjust judge in the reign of James II.; specially infamous for his 'bloody assize' in the West after Monmouth's rebellion.
 26 **deplored**—grieved for.
 — **pirates**—sea-robbers.
 28 **walk the plank**—a punishment used by pirates. A plank was thrust out from the deck of the ship, and the victim compelled to walk along it so that he fell into the water and was drowned.
 32 **corsair**—pirate; sea-robber.

PAGE 76.

- 4 **abdicate**—give up; resign.
 22 **dissensions**—disagreements; differences of opinion.
 26 **hollow**—insincere; unreal.
 — **truce**—peace; short rest from open quarrelling.
 27 **mutual aversion**—dislike felt by each for the other.

PAGE 77.

- 1 **verbal communication**—intercourse by word of mouth, and not in writing.
 2 **impartial**—just; fair.
 5 **deliberate**—cool; advised.
 6 **min/ute**—a short note or memorandum.
 8 **candour**—fairness; sincerity.
 11 **challenge**—a summons to fight a duel.

PAGE 78.

- 1 **fatal, &c.**—we should have lost India as we lost the States of America.
- 4 **apprehension**—anxiety; fear.
- 6 **frustrated**—hindered from succeeding; defeated.
- 14 **extraction**—birth; descent.
- 16 **dervise**—(*der'-vis*), a Moham-
medan priest or monk, very self-denying and very poor.
- 28 **Lewis XI.**, 1423–83, a powerful king of France, much dreaded by his nobles, and by neighbouring princes.
- 29 **licentious**—indulging the animal passions; without self-control.
- **implacable**—not to be appeased; unforgiving.

PAGE 79.

- 5 **Mysore**—a large province of Southern India, between the E. and W. Ghauts; it is a fine table-land 3,000 feet above the sea; it produces rice, cotton, pepper, cocoa, and betel-nuts, sugar-cane, butter and oil, and iron ore in every part; elephants and tigers abound in the forests; capital is Mysore, 65,000 inhabitants.
- 25 **treachery**—deceit; unfaithfulness.
- 26 **despair**—hopelessness.
- 27 **Coleroon**—or Cauvery river, rising in Mysore, and flowing S. E. into the Bay of Bengal.
- 31 **villa**—a farmhouse; a country house.

PAGE 80.

- 4 **veranda**—an open gallery in front of a building, on pillars, and with a sloping roof.
- 15 **fundamental**—most import-

ant; essential; at the foundation.

- 16 **obvious**—plain; easily seen.
- 18 **deferred their junction**—did not unite their armies at once.
- 19 **detachment**—separate part of the army.
- 21 **tanks**—reservoirs in which water is stored up in Southern India; they are made of earth embankments faced with stone.
- 24 **verge**—the brink, as of a pit or precipice.
- 28 **Coromandel**—the E. coast of S. India along the Bay of Bengal.
- 29 **beset by enemies**—the American colonies, France, Spain, and Holland were all fighting against England.
- 31 **fertile genius**—readiness of resource: power to devise means.

PAGE 81.

- 1 **monsoon**—a wind in the Indian and Arabian seas blowing regularly from the S.W. from April to October, and from the N.E. from November to March; when the change takes place, terrible hurricanes and thunderstorms occur.
- 13 **extreme . . . power**—an action only just within the power of Hastings' authority.
- 15 **Fort St. George**—at Madras; the commanders at Madras seem generally to have been weak and unsuccessful in comparison with the Bengal officers.
- 23 **armament**—force completely fitted out.
- 28 **Porto Novo**—the scene of a great battle south of Pondicherry, between 80,000 men

- under Hyder Ali, and 8,000 men under Sir Eyre Coote; the English were victorious, losing only 300, while the enemy's loss was about 10,000.
- 28 **retrieved** — regained; recovered; saved.
- 32 **relaxing** — becoming less severe or strict.

PAGE 82.

- 17 **Benares** — the rich and populous capital of Benares, a province of N. India; the town is situated on the north bank of the Ganges, contains magnificent Hindoo temples, and swarms with teachers of the Hindoo worship. It has been called the 'Jerusalem' of Hindostan, and the natives regard it as their 'most holy' city; population, 175,000.
- 18 **sanctity** — holiness.
- 21 **labyrinth** — a maze; the streets are very intricate.
- **shrine** — a case in which sacred things are kept.
- 22 **minaret** — a lofty, lantern-shaped turret.
- **balcony** — a platform or framework before the window of an upper room.
- **oriel** — a bay window.
- 23 **sacred apes** — In India, Japan, and Africa ape-worship is not uncommon; and images of apes are in many temples.
- 25 **holy mendicants** — a class of religionists who live by begging.
- **holy bulls** — the worship of bulls is common in India; so it was in ancient Egypt.
- 6 **devotee** — one who devotes all his time to religious exercises.
- 10 **allured** — enticed.
- 11 **metropolis** — *mother city*; ecclesiastical capital, — Benares. [Now often used of the chief city of a state.]
- 16 **St. James's** — a royal palace in London; at that time the headquarters of diplomacy in England.
- **Versailles** — a splendid palace near Paris.
- **bazaars** — a Persian word for 'markets.'
- 17 **sabre** — a sword with a broad, heavy blade, slightly curved.
- 18 **Golconda** — a ruined town of Hyderabad, formerly famous for the diamond-mines in its neighbourhood.
- 19 **Cashmere** — a rich province of N.-W. India, near the Himalaya Mountains. The world-famous Cashmere shawls are made here, from the wool of the Tibet goat.
- 22 **the great anarchy** — in 1759 the Mogul Emperor was assassinated at Delhi; confused struggles for mastery ensued among the Afghans, the Rajpoots, the Mahrattas, the French, and the English.
- 30 **Rajah** — a native prince.

PAGE 84.

- 1 **Cheyte Sing** — the Rajah of Benares, who, under English protection, had grown rich. The oppressive treatment of this prince was one of the charges made against Hastings at his trial, 1788-95.
- 5 **acute controversy** — disputes carried on with strong feeling.
- 15 **subsidies** — aids in money.
- 5 **Brahminical faith** — the religion of the Brahmins.

- 16 **precedents** (*pres'*) — events of the past referred to as rules or guides for present action.
 17 **analogies** — likenesses; resemblances.
 21 **constitution** — the system of laws and customs regulating the government of a country.
 25 **ascendency** — influence; power.
 27 **transition** — state of change.
 28 **obscurity** — darkness; uncertainty.
 32 **legitimacy** — being the rightful one according to law or custom.

PAGE 85.

- 4 **heir of Tamerlane** — the Mogul.
 9 **mere phantoms** — shadows; having the name but not the power of ruling.
 18 **de facto** — Latin, meaning, 'from the fact'; really.
 19 **de jure** — Latin, meaning, 'from the law'; by right.
 22 **prescription** — custom continued till it has the force of law.
 24 **contemporaries** — persons living at the same time.

PAGE 86.

- 1 **consistency** — agreement with what he had said before.
 5 **shadow . . monarch** — that is, Hastings treats him as one or the other, as suits his purpose; the Nabob was a puppet in his hands.
 7 **po'tentate** — monarch.
 12 **reserved** — set apart; excepted from what was made over to the Company.
 13 **pag'eant** (*paɪ'*) — a mere show; a phantom (85-9).

- 19 **leg'erdemain** — trick; juggle.
 20 **controversies** — disputes.
 21 **soph'istry** — false reasoning; language used to deceive.
 24 **unde'viating** — regular; unvaried.
 27 **ambig'uous** — doubtful; admitting of two interpretations.

PAGE 87.

- 6 **chaos** (*ka-*) — confusion; disorder.
 9 **accumulated** — heaped up; laid by.
 13 **Hastings . . unpunished** — Hastings was not perhaps revengeful or cruel, but meant to teach neighbouring princes that those who opposed English power, and especially his own, must count on a day of reckoning.
 21 **extraordinary contribution** — a sum of money over and above the usual tribute.

PAGE 88.

- 12 **eluded** — escaped from.
 — **requisition** — a formal demand.
 17 **financial embarrassments** — difficulties about money.
 23 **pretext** — excuse; pretence.
 29 **delinquency** — offence; failure in duty.
 32 **confiscating** — seizing for the State.

PAGE 89.

- 2 **to propitiate** — to satisfy; to make atonement with.
 9 **liege lord** — superior lord; sovereign.
 13 **turban** — a head-covering formed of a quilted cap with a scarf round it.
 14 **gesture** (*jes-*) — a movement

of the body to express some feeling or idea.

- 16 **repulsive**—*driving back*; unpleasant.
22 **ordinary artifices**—the usual tricks. 88. 10.

PAGE 90.

- 1 **delta**—a tract of land formed at the mouth of a river, so-called from its resemblance to the Greek letter Δ, *delta*.
3 **battalion**—a body of soldiers from 500 to 800 in number.
— **charge**—fierce onset of soldiers in battle.
— **breach**—a gap made in the enemy's defences.
10 **prejudice**—unfavourable opinion.
31 **precipitous**—steep and rocky.

PAGE 91.

- 3 **indiscreet violence**—an unwise exercise of strength.
9 **blockaded**—surrounded so that no one could get out.
— **insurgents**—rebels.
12 **subtle** (*sut'*)—artful; cunning.
15 **can'tonments**—the camp or barracks in which soldiers are lodged.
20 **orifice**—opening; aperture.
26 **envoy**—a person entrusted with a special mission to another Government.
33 **premature**—too early; too hasty.

PAGE 92.

- 14 **revenue officers**—the Government tax-collectors.
22 **enthusiastic attachment**—ardent affection.
23 **alac' rity**—cheerful readiness.

28 **tumultuary**—restless and disorderly.

29 **fastnesses**—forts and strongholds.

32 **avocation**—calling; business.

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4 **pensioner**—one who receives a regular allowance of money.

19 **torpid repose**—dull and listless idleness.

20 **sensuality**—indulgence of the appetites.

26 **aggressions**—attacks; invasions.

PAGE 94.

27 **incapacity**—want of ability.

30 **squandered**—wasted; thrown away.

32 **Lucknow**—capital of the province of Oude in N. India, on the right bank of the river Goomti, 640 miles from Calcutta; contains a bazaar a mile long; population 285,000.

33 **obse'quious courtesy**—excessive politeness.

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4 **Chunar** (*ku'*)—a town and fortress on the Ganges, ceded to the British in 1772.

7 **amicable**—friendly.

11 **com'promise**—settlement of a dispute by each party agreeing to give up something.

13 **to relieve the finances**—to help to pay the debts.

24 **dota'tion**—endowment; a gift of money or lands.

29 **Fy'zabad**—a city of Oude, 65 miles E. of Lucknow.

32 **Goomti**—a tributary of the Ganges.

33 **mosques** (*mosks*)—Mohammedan places of worship.

PAGE 96.

- 4 **com'pact**—agreement; contract.
 8 **formally guaranteed**—the Government undertook to see it was faithfully carried out.
 11 **instigate**—incite; to urge on.
 14 **plighted faith**—solemn promise; pledged faithfulness.
 16 **fil'ial piety**—the respect and duty children owe their parents.
 25 **imputation**—accusation; charge.
 27 **transmis'sion**—sending across; passing from one to another.

PAGE 97.

- 17 **inex'orable**—not to be moved by entreaty; unyielding.
 19 **spo'liation**—robbery.
 27 **resumed**—again taken possession of.
 33 **stringent**—severe.
 — **coercion**—force; compulsion.

PAGE 98.

- 20 **mitigation**—relief; alleviation.

PAGE 99.

- 2 **du'ress**—hardship; imprisonment.
 11 **rigour**—severity.
 23 **alien**—foreign; separate.
 24 **alluring**—enticing.
 25 **peculiar**—special.
 — **infamy**—disgrace.
 27 **relays**—fresh supplies.
 — **palanquin** (*-keen'*)—53. 33.
 28 **affida'vits**—written declarations made on oath.

PAGE 100.

- 3 **dialect**—the peculiar manner in which the same language is spoken in different districts.

- 5 **deponents**—those who make declarations before a judge.
 10 **term**—one of the fixed periods of the year when the chief law courts are open for business.
 12 **jurisdiction**—the district in which he held office as judge.
 23 **sift**—examine carefully; separate truth from falsehood.
 25 **judicial functionary**—law-officer.
 32 **two Committees**—sometimes the Lords or Commons select a few members to inquire into some particular affair, and report on it to the House. The gentlemen thus employed are called a 'Committee.'

PAGE 101.

- 1 **Edmund Burke**, 1728-97, famous as a statesman, an orator, and a political writer. His finest speeches in Parliament were delivered against the taxation of American colonists, against Warren Hastings, and against the French Revolution. Lord Macaulay's high praise of his character is quite in accordance with the general testimony.
 2 **versatile** (*-til*)—able to do many things well.
 10 **great parties**—the Whigs and Tories, or, as they are now called, Liberals and Conservatives.
 18 **epithets**—words used to express qualities.
 25 **The bargain**—75. 1-9.

PAGE 102.

- 5 **single branch**—House of Commons alone.
 — **Legislature** (*lej'*)—the Sovereign, the Lords, and the Commons together form the English Legislature; all three

must consent to the making of new laws, or altering of old ones.

- 15 **evacuated**—left empty of soldiers.

PAGE 103.

- 5 **thirteen colonies**—in North America, which in 1776 declared their independence of England, and called themselves the United States of America.
- 6 **conciliate**—appease; allay ill-feeling.
- **giving up legislating**—from 1782 to 1800 the British Parliament gave up its judicial and legislative control over Ireland.
- 11 **Minorca**—an island in the Mediterranean, E. of Spain.
- **Florida**—a large peninsula in the S.E. corner of N. America.
- **Senegal**—a French colony at the mouth of the river Senegal, in W. Africa.
- 12 **Goree**—a small island off W. coast of Africa.
- 18 **augmented**—increased [*Lat. augmentare*, to enlarge.]
- 27 **dissolved . . . government**—removed the make-believe princes.
- 30 **educed**—brought out. [A doublet of *educated*.]

PAGE 104.

- 1 **Lewis XVI.**, 1754–93, King of France; **Emperor Joseph**, 1765–90, King of Germany and Emperor of the West; two of the most populous states in Europe at that time.
- 6 **suggested**—taught.
- 23 **intellectual**—highly cultured. He had had no opportunity of learning from those who had made statesmanship their profession.

- 31 **depositories . . . traditions**—persons who are intimately acquainted with the established methods of government.

PAGE 105.

- 1 **Downing Street**—Whitehall. It contains the official residence of the Prime Minister, the Foreign Office, &c.
- **Somerset House**—the chief Government office in connection with inland revenue. Wills, registers of births, &c. are kept there.
- 2 **facilities**—opportunities.
- 7 **trammelled**—hampered; hindered.
- 13 **bales of censure**—bundles of papers finding fault with his actions.
- 15 **acrimonious**—harsh; bitter.
- 17 **Marlborough**, 1650–1722, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, a famous English general. He commanded Dutch and German, as well as English, troops; and the Dutch deputies and German princes crossed his plans and tried his patience greatly.
- 18 **Wellington**, 1769–1852, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, England's greatest general; also a statesman. Defeated the Mahrattas in India in 1803–5; fought successfully against the French in Spain and Portugal, and defeated Napoleon himself at Waterloo in 1815.
- 19 **Portuguese Regency**—the Queen having become insane, the Prince Royal had been made Regent.
- 20 **Juntas**—committees.
- **Mr. Perceval**, 1762–1812, statesman and Prime Minister; he was shot in the lobby of the

House of Commons by an assassin who mistook him for another gentleman. [Wellington, during the early part of the Peninsular war, was hampered much as Marlborough had been.]

- 24 **remedy** — cure ; means of relief.
 25 **patience of stupidity** — the endurance that comes of dullness or want of understanding.
 31 **equanimity** — steadiness and evenness of mind.
 33 **fertile** — fruitful ; ready ; quick in forming successful plans.

PAGE 106.

- 1 **no . . . embarrassments** — no entanglements of dangers and difficulties.
 7 **devising expedients** — planning the fittest things for the occasion.
 11 **political controversy** — disputes or arguments on questions of government.
 17 **dispensers of patronage** — those who select men to fill public offices.
 25 **essayist** — a writer of essays. An essay is a written composition in which an attempt is made to present all the chief aspects of a subject without going into details. Lord Macaulay is the founder of the historical essay of which this essay on 'Warren Hastings' is a brilliant example.
 32 **Francis . . . Hastings** — Francis (if the author of the Letters of Junius) was one of our most powerful writers, and that he should admit Hastings to be more powerful, is indeed a tribute of praise.
 33 **candour** — openness ; sincerity.

PAGE 107.

- 6 **incom'parable** — matchless ; excellent beyond comparison.
 7 **reserva'tion** — drawback ; exception.
 9 **tur'gid** (*-jid*) — pompous ; heavy, where it was meant to be grand.
 10 **bombas'tic** — ranting ; having more sound than sense.
 13 **judicious** — prudent ; wise.
 20 **Milton, John**, 1608–74, one of England's greatest poets and political writers. Supported Oliver Cromwell. His chief works are 'Paradise Lost,' 'Paradise Regained,' 'Samson,' and 'Comus.' Was blind for the last twenty years of his life.
 — **Adam Smith**, 1723–90, a Scotch political economist ; in 1776 he published a great work on the 'Wealth of Nations,' which was the foundation of *free trade* doctrines.
 19–24 **To make . . . expositions** — to teach the people of Bengal genuine knowledge, based on experience, instead of the nonsense which was all their Brahmin teachers could give them.
 22 **do'tages** — rambling nonsense ; stories too absurd for belief except in second childishness.
 23 **ancient Greece** — the ancient Greeks of 2,000 years ago attained the highest excellence in the fine arts, poetry, sculpture, &c., but they knew comparatively little of physical science.
 — **transfused** — *poured through* ; paraphrased. The word implies that the science was not improved by the process. This Greek science had been brought to India by the Mahometans.

- 24 **Arabian expositions** — explanations made by learned Arabs 1,000 years ago.
- 25 **to crown**—to glorify, or make illustrious
- **beneficent**—kind; doing good.
- **administration**—the executive part of the Government. It is generally named after the head or chief of the Government, so that with a new chief there is a new administration.
- 26 **virtuous ruler**—Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General 1828-35.

PAGE 108.

- 4 **Asiatic society**—an intellectual society founded at Calcutta in 1783, for the study of Eastern literature.
- 8 **Sir William Jones, 1746-94**, a lawyer and professor of languages; the best Oriental scholar of last century; wrote a Persian grammar, and translated several Sanscrit and Persian works into English.
- 9 **Oriental**—pertaining to the east or the *sun-rising*.
- **letters**—learning or literature.
- 10 **Pundits** — teachers of the law.
- 15 **What . . . Government**—they remembered how the Portuguese had set up the terrible Inquisition at Goa, and what dreadful tortures it inflicted to convert the natives to Christianity.
- 17 **apprehending** — expecting; fearing.
- 20 **hereditary** — by parentage; by descent.
- 23 **theology** — teachings about God and duty.
- 23 **jurisprudence**—knowledge of law.

PAGE 109.

- 4 **conciliated**—made friends of; pleased.
- **alienated**—made enemies of; offended.
- 8 **indigenous** (*-dif/-*)—native.
- 11 **Civil Service**—the clerks, secretaries, &c., employed in Government offices not connected with war.
- 23 **vernacular** — belonging to one's native country.
- **precision**; correctness; exactness.
- 29 **prejudice**—an opinion held without proper examination.
- 33 **hurricane . . . cavalry**—the sudden rush of the Mahratta horsemen, sweeping away all opposition. [Such a figure of speech is called a metaphor.]

PAGE 110.

- 1 **alluvial plain**—a plain covered with a very productive soil, deposited by the overflowing of rivers.
- 16 **extricated**—set free from entanglement.
- 18 **superstitious admiration**—a mingled feeling of respect and wonder, partly due to ignorance.
- **re'gal**—kingly.
- 20 **people . . . children** — the Hindoos, like children, are fond of bright colours, finery, and grand shows.
- 24 **richly caparisoned**—superbly dressed
- 25 **Sahib**—Lord; a title applied to English gentlemen in India.
- 30 **vindicate** — justify; protect from censure.
- 31 **apportioned**—allotted; dealt out.

PAGE 111.

- 7 **identical** — the same. The meaning is that no policy can

hope to succeed in the long run unless it is founded on morality.

- 12 **inordinate**—excessive; uncontrolled; irregular.
- 17 **spoliation**—act of robbery; act of *spoiling*, or taking by force.
- 19 **punctilious integrity**—careful straightforwardness; thorough honesty.
- 28 **designated**—called; named.
- 29 **rapacious**—given to *rapine* or plunder; grasping.
- 30 **infallibly**—without fail; certainly.

PAGE 112.

- 1 **zemindar**—landholder under the Government. Originally the great landowners of the Mogul empire.
- 4 **Carlton House**—a palace given to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. It was furnished with great luxury.
- 5 **Palais Royal** (*pal'ay*)—at that time a splendid palace in Paris.
- 7 **thrift**—economy; frugality. [His regular salary was sufficient to support his expensive style of living, and enable him to save the moderate fortune he brought back to England.]
- 11 **alacrity**—eagerness; willingness.
- 12 **connivance**—knowledge. Hastings was ignorant of what she did, and did not merely pretend not to see it.
- **hoard**—a store of money or treasure.
- 27 **round-house**. . . **Indiaman**—the best cabin on a vessel trading with India.
- 28 **sandal-wood**—a white wood much prized for cabinet work; it grows in S. India; when *dry* it turns yellow and gives out a pleasant odour.

PAGE 113.

- 1 **characteristic**—are like what, from our knowledge of his *character*, we should have expected.
- 7 **Grandison**—a very formal dignified gentleman, the hero of Richardson's novel, *Sir Charles Grandison*, pub. 1754.
- **Miss Byron**—the lady Grandison was in love with.
- 14 **civil functionaries**—persons holding offices in the civil service of India.
- 17 **formed a lane**—stood in line on both sides of the road.
- 24 **beguiled** . . . **leisure**—found relief and amusement during the four months' voyage home.

PAGE 114.

- 1 **Horace**, B.C. 65-8, a celebrated Latin poet whose works are still much read and highly prized.
- **Otium Divos rogat**—first words of a poem, meaning, *Everyone asks the gods for ease and quiet.*
- 2 **Lord Teignmouth**, 1751-1834—Governor-General of India from 1793-8; wrote a life of Sir William Jones.
- 13 **Cheltenham**—then a fashionable watering-place in Gloucestershire.
- 19 **Marian**, whose reputation was somewhat stained by the circumstances of her divorce, so that it might have been expected the Queen would have had nothing to do with her.
- 22 **dissentient**—disagreeing.
- 28 **exulting**—triumphant; rejoicing.

PAGE 115.

- 14 **Mr. Grattan**, 1746-1820, a leading Irish orator and statesman.

- 22 **the press**—newspapers and books; the products of the printing press. [An example of the figure called *metonymy*.]
 — **startling novelties** — new things which cause surprise.
 24 **tactics** — the methods of arranging soldiers or ships for battle; here applied to the war of the two political parties (line 21).
 24 **Hannibal**, B.C. 247–183, one of the greatest generals of old times; fought against the Romans, but was finally overcome.
 25 **Waterloo**—one of the greatest battles of modern times; Napoleon defeated by Wellington, 1815.
 — **Themistocles**, B.C. 514–449, a general and statesman of Greece. He won a great naval victory over the Persians at Salamis. In those days a sea-fight was very much like a land-fight.
 — **Trafalgar** — a naval battle fought in 1805, off the coast of Spain, between the English under Nelson and the combined fleets of France and Spain. Nelson was killed, but a splendid victory was gained by his genius. A sea-fight had now become something very different from a land-fight.
 31 **bad hand**—Hastings' position is described under the figure of a game at cards; in India he had a difficult task, but performed it skilfully; in England, later on, he had an easy task, but bungled in it, and nearly ruined himself.

PAGE 116.

- 6 **Wedderburn**, 1733–1805, a Scotch judge and statesman.

- 11 **foren'sic acute'ness**—sharpness of mind in legal matters.
 17 **Oriental munif'icence**—great liberality; enormous sums of money, or splendid gifts, such as Asiatic princes give.
 26 **fastid'ious**—difficult to please.
 31 **bore**—a dull, tiresome person.

PAGE 117.

- 1 **puff**—undue praise.
 2 **Asiaticus**—of Asia.
 — **Bengalensis**—of Bengal.
 3 **indefatigable** — persevering; unwearied.
 6 **pass to trunkmakers, &c.** —*i.e.* nobody read them, and they were sold as waste paper, and used to line trunks and to bake cakes upon.
 12 **reptile**—any crawling animal. Some reptiles being poisonous, and many of them deceitful and cunning, they are generally detested. And so the name 'reptile,' when used figuratively, expresses loathing and contempt. Such senseless abuse showed that Scott was quite unfit for his office.
 17 **Lord Mansfield**, 1705–93, a Scotch judge, called 'the silver-tongued Murray.'
 19 **Lord Lansdowne**, 1737–1805, an English statesman.
 26 **invading vested rights**—interfering with the rights of persons to their offices, &c.
 32 **to extenuate**—to make the evils seem less than they were.

PAGE 118.

- 2 **Thurlow**, 1732–1806, an English judge and statesman.
 6 **indeco'rous** — indecent; unbecoming.
 14 **resolution of censure**—the formal vote of the House of

Commons condemning Hastings' conduct. 101. 20.

17 **rescinded**—cancelled by another vote; repealed; annulled.

18 **approbation**—approval; commendation.

21 **peerage**—a title of nobility.

23 **deeply committed**—pledged by previous conduct.

26 **apprehended**—feared.

31 **flattery . . . number** — *i.e.* there seemed no reason to fear he would again attack Hastings from a feeling that he must do now as he had done before. He had never troubled himself much about that sort of consistency.

PAGE 119.

2 **vehement**—ardent; violent.

14 **Coalition**—a union of different parties for a common purpose; here, the union of the Whig followers of Fox with the Tories under Lord North, to oppose Lord Shelburne.

18 **wits of Brooks's**—Brooks's Club House in St. James's Street was a favourite meeting-place for the leading Whig politicians. Fox, Burke, Reynolds, Garrick, Horace Walpole, Hume, Gibbon, and Sheridan were members of it.

19 **sarcasms**—cutting remarks.

26 **immortalised by the pencil**—kept in remembrance by paintings specified in next clause. An artist's paint-brush is called a *pencil*.

31 **exquisitely humorous parody**—A parody consists in applying the words of a poem, slightly altered, to some different subject, by way of *pleasantry*; this parody was "sing, and cleverly finished.

32 **Virgil's third eclogue**—Virgil, B.C. 70–19, a famous Roman poet; the eclogues are ten poems about shepherds and a country life.

PAGE 120.

1 **make . . . wanton**—The question implied that Queen Charlotte's strictness was not very sincere, since presents of diamonds could make her friendly to Mrs. Hastings.

2 **malevolence**—ill-will. The word here seems to bear a milder sense than is usual = frolicsome mischievousness. In line 25 it bears its full bad sense.

4 **gal'axy**—splendid cluster.

5 **necklace . . . votes**—the diamonds to be used as bribes to obtain votes in Parliament.

6 **depending questions**—the precious stones in her earrings, also to be used as bribes to settle questions favourably. [Probably suggested by similarity of shape in an earring and a note of interrogation (?).]

7 **satirical**—keen; sarcastic.

8 **motion . . . censure**—a proposal that the House of Commons should vote a formal condemnation of Hastings' conduct.

16 **fluency**—easy flow of speech.

19 **incurred**—ran into; fell under.

21 **asperity**—roughness; harshness of behaviour.

PAGE 121.

1 **paraded it**—showed it up as something to be proud of.

— **Pharisaical ostentation**—self-righteous display. The

Pharisees are described in the Gospels as praying and giving alms 'to be seen of men,' or for ostentation.

- 5 **discreditable**—dishonourable; disgraceful.
- 6 **vehemence**—violence.
- **pertinacity**—persistency; fixed perseverance.
- 11 **actuated**—impelled; put into action.
- 15 **refuted**—disproved; shown to be false.
- 19 **Fox, Charles James, 1749–1806**, orator and statesman; the chief opponent of William Pitt and the French War.
- 21 **Crown**—the King.
- 22 **alienated**—separated in affection; estranged.
- 24 **French Republic (the first), 1793–1804**, founded in the Great Revolution against the oppressive government of the aristocracy of France, and therefore a cause of alarm to the aristocracy of England and other countries.
- 28 **implicated**—involved; responsible for wrong-doing.
- 29 **cordially**—heartily.

PAGE 122.

- 3 **Las Ca'sas, 1474–1566**, a noble Catholic bishop who crossed the Atlantic twelve times to plead with the Spanish Court on behalf of the Indians of S. America.
- 4 **Clarkson, Thomas, 1760–1846**, a Quaker who devoted his life to the abolition of the slave trade.
- 5 **alloyed**—mixed, as a valuable metal is mixed with a poorer one and so reduced in value.
- 6 **infirmity**—weakness.
- 8 **a people**—the Hindoos.
- 9 **neither blood nor language**

—it is now known that we and most of the nations of Europe are really akin in blood *and* language to the people of India. But this was not known to Burke, nor yet to Macaulay at the time the essay was written. ix. 1, 2.

- 11 **requital**—return; reward; recompense.
- 19 **sensibility**—delicacy; quickness of perception.
- 25 **repelled**—drove back by their voluminous and dry character.
- 26 **philosophical**—loving knowledge; delighting to investigate the causes and relations of things; intellectual.
- **poetical**—able to enter into the spirit and inner meanings of things; gifted with imagination.
- 29 **analysed**—examined carefully to see what they contained.
- **digested**—arranged methodically; reduced to plan or order.
- 32 **that noble faculty**—imagination, which enables the mind to see clearly, and to say beautifully what it sees.

PAGE 123.

- 3 **abstractions**—hazy conceptions which did not realise their existence, or arouse any sympathy for their sufferings.
- 8 **rich tracery**—fine ornamental carving in stone.
- 9 **imaum (im-mawm')**—a Mohammedan priest.
- 10 **Mecca**—a city of Arabia, accounted by the Mohammedans the most holy place, as being the birthplace of their founder, Mohammed.
- 11 **devotee . . air**—a religious enthusiast who suspends himself for days together by an

arm or a leg, or otherwise tortures himself, in the hope of reward after death.

- 13 **yellow . . sect**—a yellow mark painted on the forehead of the Brahmin caste.

- 15 **mace**—a kind of staff with a club head; a symbol of authority.

- 16 **canopy**—(*a mosquito net*); curtains or hangings placed over a bed, a throne, or (in this case) a seat on an elephant's back.

- 17 **close litter**—a kind of roofed couch, quite closed in and carried on men's shoulders, or between two horses.

- 20 **Beaconsfield**—Beaconsfield, a small town in Buckinghamshire, where Burke had his country house, and where he is buried; St. James's Street contained his London house.

- 26 **lonely courier**—letter carrier or message bearer, whose occupation exposes him to much peril from wild beasts, hyænas, tigers, &c.

- 29 **Gordon riots**—in London, 1780; lasted for six days; commenced with 40,000 persons assembling under Lord George Gordon to ask for repeal of laws abolishing penalties formerly imposed on Catholics.

- 30 **Dr. Dodd, 1729-77**, a clergyman who was executed in London for forgery.

PAGE 124.

- 8 **personal aversion**—dislike to Hastings—the man, as well as to his misdeeds.

- 9 **mitigating**—alleviating; softening; calculated to lessen the offence.

- 15 **perfidious**—treacherous; unfaithful.

- 20 **Stamp Act**, passed 1765, requiring the Americans to put on certain documents a stamp, for which they were to pay the British Government. The Act led to the War of Independence.

- 27 **acrimonious**—sharp; bitter.

- 30 **Regency**—in 1788, George III., through mental derangement, became unable to reign. A warm discussion took place as to whether George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., should be Regent. Meanwhile the king recovered.

- 31 **French Revolution, 1789**, when the people of France overthrew the oppressive government of the aristocracy.
— **virulence**—mental *poison*; bitterness.

PAGE 125.

- 1 **ma'niac**—a madman.

- **burning words**—passionate language.

- 3 **prophet**—an inspired teacher.

- 5 **Bastile** (*-teel'*)—an old fortress in Paris, used as a prison; the first act in the French Revolution was to destroy this hateful symbol of tyranny, July 14, 1789.

- 6 **Marie Antoinette** (*Mah-re An-twa-net*), 1755-93, wife of Louis XVI., beheaded during the Revolution.

- 10 **domineered**—*lorded it*; ruled without restraint.

- 11 **antip'athy**—a feeling of dislike. [Gr. *anti*, against, and *pathos*, feeling.]

- 22 **decisive action**—an action which would *decide* the dispute.

- 23 **bridge of gold**—a means of

retiring, without dishonour, from the position they had taken up.

PAGE 126.

- 5 **calumnia'tors** — slanderers ; false accusers.
 11 **irrev'ocably**—in a way not to be altered ; past recall.
 13 **papers**—official papers connected with India.
 18 **drawn**—drawn up ; written.
 25 **fatality**—such constant ill-luck that it seemed like the result of fate or destiny.
 27 **politic** — prudent in public affairs

PAGE 127.

- 1 **concise**—brief ; short.
 2 **extempora'neous deba'ting** —speaking on the spur of the moment, without previous arrangement.
 9 **fell flat**—excited no interest ; made no impression on the hearers.
 16 **clerks**—officers who sit at the table to write the records of proceedings.
 — **sergeant-at-arms**—an officer in attendance at the house to preserve order, arrest offenders, &c.
 20 **in the van**—in the front ; at the beginning.
 32 **absolved**—cleared ; acquitted.

PAGE 128.

- 18 **the Bath**—an order of knighthood. A usual reward for great services to the State. The knights wear on state occasions a jewelled star suspended from a red ribbon.
 19 **sworn . . . Council**—formally admitted amongst the principal advisers of the sovereign.

- 26 **Keeper . . Seal**—the Lord Chancellor (Thurlow) ; the Great Seal is impressed on important state documents.
 28 **patent of peerage**—a writing, sealed with the Great Seal, conferring a title of nobility.
 29 **Lord Daylesford**—after his birthplace in Worcestershire.

PAGE 129.

- 7 **felicity of language**—happy choice of words ; eloquence.
 11 **contuma'ciously**—obstinately ; stubbornly.
 17 **malignant**—full of enmity and bad feeling.
 — **necessary inference** — the reasonable or logical conclusion.

PAGE 130.

- 4 **thunderstruck** — utterly astonished.
 6 **flagitious** (*-jish'-*) — grossly wicked ; atrocious.
 13 **mulct**—a fine ; a money penalty.
 14 **discretion**—judgment ; sense of what was just.
 25 **vindicating**—clearing from share in guilt.
 — **national honour**—the character of the English nation for justice and uprightness.
 32 **diffidence**—doubt ; want of confidence in one's own opinion.

PAGE 131.

- 9 **softened down**—explained away the worst features.
 15 **delinquencies**—faults ; misdeeds.
 23 **supererogation**—good works over and above what duty requires, and which are reck-

oned as a set-off against shortcomings on other occasions.

- **Catholic theology**—the system of religious beliefs and duties taught by the Roman Catholic Church.

- 24 **efficacious**—effective; able to do what is wanted.

- **cancelling**—effacing the record by crossing it with lines.

PAGE 132.

- 1 **closeted**—holding conversation in a private room.

- 7 **Attorney-General**—a chief law officer of the Government.

- 8 **divided against**—voted differently from.

- 9 **adherents who stood by**—followers who always supported Pitt, whether he was right or wrong.

- 15 **William Wilberforce, 1759–1833, M.P. for Hull**; specially famous for his services in the suppression of the slave-trade.

PAGE 133.

- 2 **idol**—a metaphor, meaning that Hastings was held in great honour by them.

- 6 **imperious**—haughty; overbearing; commanding others without regard to their feelings.

- 17 **encroachment . . functions**—trespassing on his rights as Prime Minister.

- 25 **ruling passion**—greatest desire; chief motive of action.

- 26 **avarice**—greediness: eager desire to rule his fellow men.

- 27 **prorogation**—the close of the session; cessation of parliamentary work from one session to the next.

- 31 **Sheridan, Richard Brinsley,**

1751–1816, statesman, orator, and dramatist.

- 33 **elaborately**—painstakingly.

PAGE 134.

- 1 **brilliant**—sparkling; splendid.

- 9 **ferment**—excitement communicated from one to another. The figure is borrowed from the art of brewing.

- 11 **copyright**—the exclusive right to publish it. Copyright now (1883) lasts for 42 years.

- 14 **experienced critics**—duly qualified judges; persons skilled in discovering beauties and defects. Lord Macaulay ranks as a critic of the first class in literature.

- **discernment**—judgment; discrimination.

- 15 **emulation**—rivalry; the desire to do better. [They were not likely to give undue praise to Sheridan's speech, since it was their interest rather to depreciate it.]

- 16 **permanent**—durable; lasting.
- **Mr. Windham, 1750–1810**, statesman. 141. 16.

- 28 **scraped down**—Hastings' friends were prevented from being heard in the House by noises deliberately made.

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- 5 **strenuous**—active; zealous.

- 9 **Misdemeanours**—bad conduct not amounting to crime.

- 11 **bar**—the rail in the House which fences off the seats of members from the rest of the hall. None but members and clerks are admitted within the bar.

- 15 **admitted to bail**—set at liberty on giving security for his appearance next session.

- 20 **associated**—joined for a common end.
 23 **notoriously**—publicly known to be (in a bad sense).
 24 **feud**—enmity; a long-standing quarrel.
 25 **aversion**—dislike; hatred.
 26 **seek each other's lives**—77, 11-16. ['Lives' should in strictness be 'life.']
 30 **impartiality**—fairness; not leaning to either side.

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- 1 **aggrieved party**—the person who thinks himself wronged.
 2 **admitted to jury-box**—selected to decide the merits of his own quarrel.
 — **jury-box**—the compartment in which the jurymen sit.
 — **prosecutor**—the person who makes the charge, and whose business it is to prove it.
 4 **bias**—*a slant*; a leaning to one particular side; partiality.
 7 **animosity**—violent hatred.
 10 **inveterate**—old; long-established; obstinate.
 17 **spectacles**—grand sights.

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- 2 **accomplishments**—embellishments; adornments.
 7 **when . . . laid**—six or seven hundred years ago.
 10 **strange stars**—some of the stars seen in the Indian sky are not to be seen by persons in England, owing to the roundness of the earth.
 11 **strange characters**—the letters of their alphabet are different in shape from ours. Persian, Hebrew, and Sanscrit run from the right hand side of the page to the left.

- 12 **High Court was to sit**—*i.e.* in its capacity as the highest legal tribunal of the kingdom.

- 13 **Plantagenets**—eight English kings who reigned from 1154 to 1399.

- 18 **hall of Rufus**—Westminster Hall, built by William II., the second largest hall in Europe unsupported by pillars, being 270 feet long and 74 feet wide; it adjoins the Houses of Parliament, and was, until the end of 1882, the centre of the great law courts.

- 19 **resounded . . . acclamations**—echoed with shouts of joy.

- **inauguration**—investiture; act of crowning, and publicly recognising.

- 21 **Bacon, Sir Francis, 1561-1626**, author, statesman, and judge, one of England's greatest sons, was sentenced here in 1621 to fine and imprisonment for accepting presents in his office of Lord High Chancellor.

- **absolution of Somers, 1651-1716**, author, statesman, and judge, who assisted greatly to bring about the English Revolution of 1689. Was impeached in 1701 on a charge of affixing the Great Seal to blank commissions, and of having asked for and received from the Crown exorbitant grants of land. When the time fixed for the trial arrived, the Commons declined to prosecute, and he was therefore acquitted.

- 22 **Strafford, Earl of, 1593-1641**, statesman, sentenced to be beheaded in 1641, on a charge of high treason, for having, as responsible minister,

advised Charles I. in illegal courses.

23 **victorious party**—the Parliamentary party, which Strafford had deserted for the service of Charles.

25 **placid**—gentle; quiet. [The quiet dignity of Charles during his trial has been greatly admired even by those who thoroughly condemn his government.]

27 **avenues**—approaches; ways leading into the hall.

28 **grenadiers**—foot-soldiers.

29 **cavalry**—horse-soldiers.

30 **marshalled**—headed; led. 'Thou *marshal'st* me the way that I was going,' *Macbeth* II. i.

— **heralds**—officers whose duty it is to conduct royal processions, and to attend to the ceremonies and records of knighthood.

— **Garret King-at-Arms**—the chief of the college of heralds.

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3 the **junior Baron**—the one who had most recently become a baron. *Baron* is the lowest title of nobility in the House of Lords.

5 **Gibraltar**—besieged 1781.

7 **Norfolk**—the oldest English dukedom. 'Duke' is the highest title of nobility.

— **Earl-Marshal**—the officer who has chief care of military solemnities; the president of the heralds.

8 **realm**—kingdom.

10 **Prince of Wales**—afterwards George IV.

— **conspicuous**—distinguished.

20 **House of Brunswick**—The present line of kings, called also *House of Hanover*.

21 **Commonwealths**—states in

which the supreme power is lodged in the people; republics. [United States of America, Switzerland, &c. France was not yet a Republic.]

23 **Siddons, Sarah**, 1755–1831, a celebrated tragic actress of the English stage.

26 **historian**—Edward Gibbon, 1739–94, author of the 'History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.' Macaulay supposes that Gibbon's mind being full of history, he would bethink him of other scenes similar to that passing before him.

27 **Cicero**, B.C. 106–43, a famous orator and statesman of Rome.

28 **Verres**, B.C. 70–43, a Roman statesman impeached by Cicero.

29 **Tacitus**, 55–117, a Roman historian and statesman.

30 **oppressor of Africa**—Marius Priscus, a Roman pro-consul.

31 **greatest painter**—Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1723–92, chiefly famous for the fine portraits he painted.

— **greatest scholar**—Rev. Samuel Parr, 1747–1825, very learned in the Greek and Latin languages.

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3 **dark . . mine**—the literature of Greece and Rome, which from its extent and age needed the labours of some courageous student to throw light upon it.

5 **erudi'tion**—learning.

— **buried in the earth**—not profitably used. Matt. xxv. 14.

6 **paraded . . . ostentation**—used merely for the purposes of show, and without reason or good taste.

- 8 **voluptuous**—giving pleasure to the senses.
 — **her**—Mrs. Fitzherbert, 1756–1837; married privately in 1785 to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV.
 11 **Saint Cecilia**—Mrs. Sheridan, whose portrait by Reynolds represents her in the character of Saint Cecilia, patroness of music, who was martyred about A.D. 230.
 14 **quoted**—cited or repeated passages from authors.
 15 **exchanged repartees**—made witty remarks in answer to one another.
 16 **Mrs. Montague, 1720–1800**, a talented lady who founded the ‘Blue Stocking Club’ of literary persons.
 — **ladies whose lips**—a number of ladies canvassed for Fox; the Duchess of Devonshire is said to have gained the vote of a butcher at this election by allowing him to kiss her.
 18 **against palace, &c.**—the king and the Government were strongly against Fox.
 23 **that great presence**—the presence of such a great and noble company.
 31 **emaciated**—lean and thin.
 32 **deference**—respect.

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- 1 **pensive**—sad and thoughtful.
 2 **inflexible**—unbending; firm.
 3 **serene**—calm; peaceful.
 4 **legibly**—clearly.
 5 **Mens æqua in arduis**—a mind equal and steady in difficulties.
 6 **Procon’sul**—a Roman title for the governor of a province.
Vice - Chancellor; Master—[*L. Vice*, in the place of].

- Two judges of the Court of Chancery inferior to the Lord Chancellor.
 7 **Rolls**—public records, written on parchment.
 26 **a bag**—an ornamental purse of silk tied to men’s hair behind.
 28 **commanding**—powerful; convincing.
 — **copious**—flowing freely; having an abundant supply of words.
 — **sonorous**—full of sound; high-sounding.
 33 **urbanity**—polished manners.

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- 1 **Lower House**—House of Commons.
 4 **Athe’nian eloquence**—Athens had, about 350 B.C., several very great orators; two are mentioned below.
 5 **English Demos’thenes** (*-es*)—Fox. Demosthenes, of Athens, B.C. 382–322, was the finest orator ever known.
 6 **English Hyperides**—Sheridan. Hyperides, an Athenian orator, friend to Demosthenes.
 9 **amplitude of comprehension**—width and power of understanding.
 10 **imagination**—122. 26, note.
 15 **chivalrous** (*shiv-*)—bold; gallant.
 17 **youngest manager**—Charles Grey, afterwards Earl Grey, 24 years old at commencement of trial.
 19 **fellowships**—rewards to successful students at college, entitling them to a yearly income from the college revenues.
 25 **vet’eran**—old and experienced.
 26 **delegates**—persons sent as

representatives to transact business.

28 **gone**—dead.

31 **last ten years**—the special reference is to the speeches of Earl Grey in favour of the Reform Bill passed in 1832. This essay was written in 1841.

33 **tapestries**—woven hangings of wool and silk, worked into pictures, and used for wall-coverings.

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1 **animated eloquence**—lively and vigorous style of public speaking.

— **just emphasis**—proper stress on the words.

12 **exuberance**—richness ; luxuriance.

13 **diction**—the style or manner of expressing one's ideas in words.

16 **recounted**—related in detail.

21 **vivid**—lively ; striking.

22 **to arraign**—to accuse.

23 **systematically**—according to a set plan ; habitually.

24 **pathos**—passion ; vehemence ; expression of strong and deep feeling.

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1 **extorted**—drew out by force.

— **unwonted**—unusual ; unaccustomed.

2 **Chancellor**—Thurlow, who, as the friend to Hastings, disagreed with Burke, but could not help admiring his eloquence.

4 **defendant**—Hastings himself.

8 **uncontrollable emotion**—feeling that must show itself by expression.

10 **hysterical**—uncontrollable ;

the result of nervous excitement.

12 **Irish oak resounded**—this is a fine touch of the essayist, as if the building itself sympathised with the great Irish orator.

20 **sullied**—stained ; tarnished.

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17 **declamation**—a vigorous set speech.

21 **stage effect**—the impression made on the spectators by particular actions on the stage of a theatre. His father was an actor by profession.

29 **case for the prosecution**—the statements and evidence of the managers ; nothing had yet been said on behalf of Hastings.

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3 **novelty**—newness ; strangeness.

4 **rhetoric**—art of speaking with force and elegance.

7 **masquerade**—a dancing party at which masks are worn.

11 **unintelligible**—of unknown meaning.

12 **lac**—one hundred thousand.

— **crore**—ten millions.

— **zemindar**—originally a collector of Government land rents, subsequently converted into a landowner by Lord Cornwallis.

— **aumil**—court official.

— **sunnud**—a charter or warrant.

13 **perwannah**—order, in the sense of official authorisation.

— **jaghire** (*jag'eer*)—a tract of land.

— **nuzzur**—a present made to a superior.

- 14 **bick'erings** — skirmishes ; word-quarrels.
 31 **King's illness**—George III. had become insane, and there were warm debates on the appointment of the Prince of Wales as Regent.
 32 **diverted**—turned away.

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- 2 **States-General**—the representative assembly or Parliament of France, which met during the Revolution in 1789, after 175 years' inaction ; called afterwards the National Assembly.
 12 **circuits**—the rounds of the judges through the country, holding assizes.
 14 **oracles of jurisprudence**—the chief judges on whom the House depended for advice in legal matters.
 18 **unprecedented**—having no past event like it ; not justified by any former example.
 25 **litigation**—law-suit.
 28 **politicians**—they belong to one of the two great political parties, and in a case like that of Hastings, would vote on party considerations, and not on principles of strict justice. In such a case they are advocates, not judges.

PAGE 147.

- 1 **legislative**—belonging to law-making.
 — **judicial** — belonging to law-administration.
 2 **law-lords**—lawyers who sit as peers in the House of Lords.
 3 **unlearned**—*i.e.* in legal matters ; not having studied law professionally.

- 6 **To expect . . indeed**—an ironical sentence. 37. 6, note.
 10 **acquittal**—setting free.
 31-3—No acquittal, except one given after the whole of the evidence has been reviewed, will satisfy the historian. A partial verdict, like that in Hastings' case, will not debar him from reconsidering the case, and giving a verdict of his own.
 32 **in bar of judgment**—to stop proceeding to judgment.

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- 7 **the last degree**—the highest possible degree.
 8 **indecency**—bad taste ; want of reserve.
 17 **personal mortification**—annoyance done to himself.
 25 **dissolution**—the complete breaking up of a Parliament, so that there has to be a general election before it can meet again.

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- 2 **expedition**—speed ; getting through business more quickly.
 10 **suspended** — interrupted ; stopped for a time.
 12 **ascertained**—made certain ; established.
 19 **arraignment**—charge ; accusation.
 22 **woolsack**—the seat occupied by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords.
 25 **instability** — liability to change.
 26 **lam'entable**—to be grieved for.
 32 **estranged**—alienated ; made strange ; out of friendship.
 — **allies** — friends ; fellow-workers.

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- 6 **resplendent** — shining brilliantly.
 8 **great chiefs**—Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Windham, Grey.
 17 **vortex**—a whirling or spiral movement in a fluid by which things are drawn towards its centre; a whirlpool or whirlwind. Burke and Fox are here compared to vortices; they attracted lesser men and controlled their actions.

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- 1 **fickleness** — capriciousness; liability to change of feeling without apparent reason.
 5 **remission**—a slackening.
 — **reaction**—a force acting back again upon an object; action in opposite direction.
 6 **to depre'ciate**—to undervalue.
 7 **indulgence** — forbearance; tenderness.
 8 **rigour**—severity; sternness.
 19 **reprehensible**—blameworthy; censurable.
 25 **cuddy**—a ship's cabin.
 29 **unanimously**—with one mind; without any dissent.

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- 1 **oracle**—a person (or place) supposed to have supernatural means of knowledge; one famed for wisdom.
 9 **eulogies**—praises.
 13 **panegyric** (*-jir-*) — formal praise.
 — **odious**—hateful; detestable.
 19 **apothe'osis**—deification; act of placing anyone amongst the gods.
 22 **mythology**—system of fables professing to give a history and description of the gods.

26 **benignant deities**—kind and gracious gods.

27 **fiends**—devils; demons. II, 3.

29 **Pantheon**—a temple dedicated to all the gods.

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9 **pamphleteers** — men who wrote pamphlets with a view to influence public opinion in his favour. A pamphlet is a small book of a few sheets stitched together, but not bound.

12 **controversial weapon** — means of carrying on the dispute.

13 **ribaldry**—mean, vulgar, or brutal language.

14 **Logan, John**, 1748–88, a Scotch minister, historian, and poet. He wrote a pamphlet in defence of Hastings, for which the House of Commons prosecuted him.

17 **burlesqued** (*-leskt*) — turned into ridicule; mocked and imitated, so as to cause laughter.

— **Simpkin's letters**—a versified account of the trial of Hastings, published in 2 vols. 1790.

18 **indis'putable** — incapable of being disputed.

20 **Anthony Pasquin**—a name borrowed from an old Roman cobbler, who was noted for making very cutting and witty remarks about his neighbours.

21 **subsidise** . . . **largely**—pay large sums of money to.

26 **competence** — sufficiency; enough to live on.

27 **dearest wish**—4. 25.

31 **domain, alienated**—land, or estate, passed into the hands of strangers.

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- 3 **to excavate a grotto**—to dig out a cave.
- 12 **reimburse** — repay ; make good to him what he had spent.
- 13 **annuity**—a fixed sum of money yearly.
- 21 **suggested** — proposed. [It generally has the less strong meaning of *hinted*, or *insinuated*.]
- 22 **remon'strated**—spoke strongly against his opposition.
- 25 **compromise**—a bargain by which each party gave up something.

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- 5 **affluence** — wealth ; abundance of riches.
- 8 **coronet** (*little crown*)—the inferior crown of a peer, as contrasted with the royal crown. It here means the peerage itself.
- **red riband**—the Order of the Bath. 128. 18 note.
- 21 **Mr. Addington**, 1757-1844, Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1801-4.
- 29 **important question**—Addington opposed the removal of Catholic disabilities, for which public opinion was not yet ripe.
- 33 **Religious intolerance**—a refusal to allow full religious liberty to others.

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- 16 **Allipore**—a place four miles S.E. of Calcutta.
- **to naturalise**—to adapt to a new climate.
- regretted** — grieved for ; greatly desired ; desiderated.

- 19 **Covent Garden**—the chief London market for flowers, fruits, and vegetables.
- 22 **Thibet**—a plateau N. of the Himalayas.

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- 1 **Bootan** — an independent province of N.E. India, close to the Himalayas.
- 3 **mosquitoes** (*-ke-*) — troublesome biting gnats, which swarm in tropical countries.
- 4 **conservatories**—greenhouses artificially heated so that plants from hot climates may be grown in them.
- 5 **menagerie** (*-ash'*)—a collection of wild beasts.
- 10 **Trissotin**—a coxcomb in a French play by Molière, who tries to combine the poet and the gallant with his ordinary duty.
- 13 **memoir**—familiar account of transactions ; a biography.
- 24 **aromatic**—fragrant ; pleasant-scented.
- 25 **venison-pasty**—a pie containing the flesh of deer or game.
- 28 **madrigal**—a little song on some light or pleasant subject.
- **sonnet**—a poem of fourteen lines with a certain arrangement of rhymes.

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- 1 **Dionysius**, B.C. 430-367, a successful Greek general, and tyrant of Syracuse in Sicily, who was fond of meddling in literary matters.
- 2 **Frederick the Great**, 1712-97, King of Prussia, a powerful ruler and successful general,

who was also fond of dabbling in literature.

- 5 **blue-stockings**—literary ladies; ladies who affected a great knowledge of literature and of authors. See 139, 16. The term is gone out of fashion now that we think it becoming in a lady to be learned. At the time referred to, it was a term of contempt.
- 7 **Hayley and Seward**—authors thought much of in the last century, but now almost forgotten.
- 12 **charter**—a written paper conferring rights or privileges.
- 32 **sate = sat**—an old-fashioned spelling.

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- 9 **prevailing enthusiasm**—the general excitement in his favour.
- 12 **degree**—an honour or title conferred by a university for successful scholarship.
- 13 **Sheldonian Theatre**—a large hall in Oxford belonging to the University, where degrees are conferred.
- 14 **undergraduates**—University students who have not yet taken a degree.
- 19 **when**—in 1814.
- 21 **in train**—amongst their attendants.
- **Guildhall**—a fine hall in London, belonging to the City Council; holds 7,000 persons.

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- 6 **tranquil fortitude**—quiet and well-conducted courage.

- 13 **Great Abbey**—Westminster Abbey; the most venerable building in the world to an Englishman.
- 16 **Great Hall**—Westminster Hall. 137. 18, note.
- 18 **illustrious accusers**—Pitt and Fox are buried in Westminster Abbey.
- 27 **revolved**—turned over; planned; meditated.
- 29 **romantic**—wild and fanciful.
- 31 **retrieved**—recovered; won back.
- **his line**—his family; his race.

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- 1 **polity**—a national system of government.
- 2 **Riche'lieu** (*Reesh'*) 1585-1642, a great French cardinal, soldier, and statesman, chief minister of France.
- 4 **Cosmo I.**—Grand Duke of Tuscany. Founded Academy of Florence; restored University of Pisa, and held out the most liberal encouragement to men of science and literary eminence to settle there as professors. Died 1574.
- 15 **lax**—The rules of right and wrong by which he ought to have acted were not fixed firmly in his mind.
- 19 **amplitude**—width and largeness.
- 23 **noble equanimity**—grand steadiness and composure of mind at all times.
- 24 **extremes of fortune**—the highest prosperity and the deepest adversity.



